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(SYMPOSIUM)

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By B. O. FLOWER

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Vol. XXIV. No. 4. * * * * Per Annum, \$2.50

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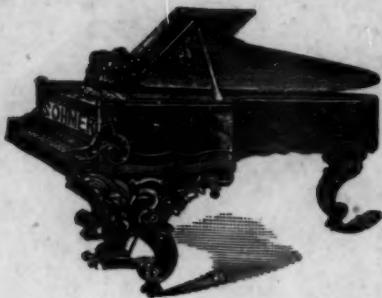
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—HEINE.

THE ARENA

VOL. XXIV.

OCTOBER, 1900.

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THE MENACE OF IMPERIALISM.

I. THE ANTITHESIS OF TRUE EXPANSION.

THE question of imperialism is important in that it menaces the very foundation principles on which republican government rests. True, the exigencies of a great Party controlling now all the branches of our government seem to require that imperialism and expansion should be so confounded and confused as to seem one and the same, and that it may appear that opposition to imperialism is opposition to expansion; but the strong common sense that always characterizes the citizens of the Republic as a body will discern the difference between the two questions—as widely separated in principle as, in distance, the valley of the Mississippi is from the islands of the Orient.

No illustration of the doctrine of imperialism, no exemplification of its operations in the affairs of the government, can be found in the history of this Republic, but must be sought only in the corruption and despotism, the rot and decline of the governments of the past, and in the tyranny and despotic rule of the kingdoms and empires of the Old World, which have burdened the people with immense armies, and whose fundamental principles of government are directly the reverse of this new Republic of the West, best typified by the statue of "Lib-

erty Enlightening the World." To the present our history furnishes justifiable reason for expansion and exemplifies its benefits, but its pages reveal nothing of imperialism. Legitimate expansion is on the line of past experience in republican government, where the will of the people is the source of all legitimate power. Imperialism is a new departure.

In the acquisition of territory, in the past, the primary purpose of the government has been self-protection, and all other considerations have been secondary. East and West Florida, belonging first to Spain and afterward ceded to France, cut the United States off from the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and thus interposed a formidable barrier to the development of harbors and cities of the south coast and to the commerce of the Gulf. The Mississippi River, constituting the eastern boundary of what is known as the Louisiana Purchase, and the country by that name beyond, in the hands of France, excluded us from the Gulf of New Orleans and from the vast region to the west. A glance at the maps of the first period discloses the United States hemmed in by foreign territory interposing on the Gulf border and constituting our western boundary, thus confining the line of our operations and progress to narrow limits, and exposed to continuous irritation and friction which the development of imperial systems and hostile interests must inevitably bring.

Spain, then a somewhat enfeebled Power, conveyed Louisiana to France, a restless and aggressive nation under domination of the great and ambitious Napoleon. At once the statesmen of the American Republic of that period became alarmed, perceiving the perpetual menace involved in the possession of the Mississippi and the outlet to the Gulf in the hands of such a Power, liable at any moment to become actively hostile and to disturb the peace and development of our nation. It was this apprehension, far more than the desire for territorial aggrandizement, which influenced the action of Jefferson, Monroe, and the other leaders of public opinion in their zeal for the purchase of Louisiana and the Floridas. In the acquirement of these vast possessions, the government of that day

had no thought of holding them as conquered provinces or colonies, but provided by express treaty stipulation for their ultimate admission into the Union as States; so that the inhabitants thereof knew from the beginning the purpose of the government with reference to the future. The land commission appointed for the compilation of the laws relating to public domain, in the compilation of 1881, speaking of the Louisiana Purchase, says:

"Mr. Jefferson, in the entire correspondence relating to the purchase, was impressed with the desirability of getting rid of all foreign neighbors of a warlike and territory-trading propensity. He considered that the future of this country rested on the acquisition of a Continental Republic, from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf. He objected to contiguous neighbors, who would with the signature of the sovereign make French from Spanish citizens, and *vice versa*, or perhaps begin a war with the United States, claim a nominal victory, cede 'conquest' territory, and then join with the nation with whom concession was made for a war to complete the title. His policy was to select our neighbors, and they to be of the best and most peaceable character. He did not wish to see Louisiana a Gallo-American province."

Upon the cession of Louisiana from Spain to France, Mr. Jefferson wrote: "The worst effect is to be apprehended." Again he said:

"The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas to France by Spain works most sorely on the United States. On this subject the Secretary has written you fully; yet I cannot forbear recurring to it personally, so deep is the impression it makes on my mind. It completely reverses all the political relations of the United States and will form a new epoch in our history. There is one spot on the globe the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will, ere long, yield more than one-half of our whole produce and contain more than one-half of our whole population. France placing herself in that door assumes toward us the attitude of defiance. The impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character, placed in a point of eternal

friction with us and our character, are circumstances which render it impossible that France and the United States can continue long friends when they meet in so irritable a position."

Here is shown the great primary motive that influenced Jefferson to action. With the Gulf in hostile possession, the mouth of the Mississippi in the hands of France, giving to us or not as she might choose the privilege of navigation, a continuous cause of irritation would exist that would end in disturbed relations and war; and to avoid the possibility of such results and to insure permanent peace were the first object, and incidentally and secondary the benefits to be derived from the access to the Gulf, the navigation of the river, and the development of the country. This immense region, however, was not to be held as a colonial possession to be governed from Washington for an indefinite period, but was to be carved into States and admitted into the Union with all the rights and privileges belonging to other commonwealths. This result was not left to chance, but was secured by solemn treaty engagements between the countries.

The third article of the treaty between France and the United States, whereby Louisiana became a part of our domain, is as follows:

"The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to all the rights, advantages, and immunities of the citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in their enjoyment of liberty, property, and the religion which they profess."

The treaty was ratified and Jefferson deemed it a fitting occasion to express in a short message to Congress his views on the subject as follows: "On this important acquisition, so favorable to the immediate interests of the western citizens, so auspicious to the peace and security of the nation in general, which adds to our country territory so extensive and fertile and to our citizens *new brethren* to partake of

the blessings of freedom and self-government, I offer to Congress and our country sincere congratulations."

It is evident that the peace and security of the nation were the main object in this acquisition of new territory, and with that the blessings of freedom and self-government to its inhabitants, present and future. The President of the same Republic in 1900, looking to the acquisition of new territory in the Orient, does not speak of adding: "To our citizens new brethren to partake of the blessings of freedom and self-government." Messrs. Claiborn and Wilkinson were constituted a commission to receive on behalf of the United States at New Orleans the new purchase in a formal manner. This being done, they addressed Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State, a note which indicates that the inhabitants of the new purchase rejoiced at the change. That note was as follows:

"City of New Orleans, Dec. 20, 1803.

"Dear Sir: We have the satisfaction to announce to you that the Province of Louisiana was this day surrendered to the United States by the commissioners of France; and to add that the flag of our country was raised in this city amidst the acclamation of the inhabitants.

"W. C. CLAIBORN.
"J. A. WILKINSON."

Welcome hands outstretched to receive and loving hearts went out to greet the flag of the Republic, because it guaranteed to the inhabitants the blessings of liberty and self-government and the right to become a part and parcel of the American Union, with all the privileges of full citizenship. Mr. Claiborn, being named as temporary governor, thus addressed the inhabitants:

"Fellow-citizens of Louisiana: On the great and interesting event now finally consummated—an event so advantageous to yourselves, so glorious to United America—I cannot forbear offering you my warmest congratulations. The wise policy of the consul of France has, by the cession of Louisiana to the United States, secured to you a connection beyond the reach of change and to your posterity the sure inheritance of freedom. The American people receive you as brothers, and will hasten to extend to you a participation in those inestimable rights which have formed the basis of their own unexampled prosperity."

There is no vague, concealed, or uncertain meaning in this address from the representative of the Republic to the inhabitants of the new purchase. In words of fraternity and good feeling they are addressed as "fellow-citizens," and greeted as brothers. At the very threshold of their new relations, the inhabitants are assured that they are to have the right of self-government, "the basis of the unexampled prosperity enjoyed by the United States."

The Floridas were equally important to the peace of the nation and the continuity of its territory as was Louisiana, and after the latter had been ceded to this government negotiations were completed for the purchase of the Floridas, thus opening the ports of the Gulf, removing the source of irritation between Spain and the United States, and making it impossible for that country to menace the South from the Gulf and bringing this government into closer relations with the Gulf islands and South America. Every consideration of future safety required this purchase. The acquisition of the Floridas and Louisiana was justifiable expansion over contiguous territory, and extension into a region thereafter to be incorporated into the sisterhood of States. The treaty of 1820 with Spain therefore provided: "The inhabitants of the territory which His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States."

Here, again, the status of the new people, to become inhabitants of the ceded territory, is definitely determined and secured by treaty stipulation. So also in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, between Mexico and the United States, the same settled policy of the government is clearly recognized. Article nine of that treaty says: "The Mexicans who in the territory aforesaid shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States,

according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the meantime shall be maintained and be protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property and secured in the exercise of their religion without restriction."

Here in our own history is an unbroken line of precedent from 1803 to 1848. In each instance, by solemn treaty stipulation, the highest pledge a nation can give, is the guaranty to the inhabitants of the ceded territory, former subjects of the ceding nations, and to those who might thereafter occupy these new possessions, that they were from the beginning and should continue to be citizens of the United States, and should have the right to be admitted into the Union as States on terms of perfect equality with the others of the Republic. These identical provisions incorporated into the several treaties are not accidental, but evidence of a fixed and settled governmental policy. This is expansion, justifiable, beneficial, and necessary, in harmony with the spirit of our institutions and conveying to new people the protection of our Constitution and the blessings of self-government. This expansion is far different from the imperialism of the colonial theory, maintained by England and the European Powers by force of arms and advocated by some statesmen of this country in recent years.

The expansion of Jefferson and his compeers was extension of American citizenship, constitutional rights and privileges, and the guaranty of future Statehood to the inhabitants of an adjacent region and in harmony with the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Such expansion was the result of the natural spread of the Republic and the republican system over territory intended by Nature to be a part of the United States, and which it was then evident must soon be populated by emigration from the States of farmers, mechanics, business men, and laborers who had imbibed the spirit of our institutions and who had become familiar with the principles and operation of our government by residence in the States and by the exercise of the rights of citizenship.

As the tide of emigration should flow westward it would carry our institutions by an irresistible and natural process

over the plains and valleys and into the mountain regions of the new country, and found States of a homogeneous people already learned in statecraft and capable of self-government. It would extend our commerce and develop our harbors in the Gulf and on the Pacific and open the way in these new possessions for large cities populated from the States, open the line for a great water-way from the lakes of the North to New Orleans, link the coasts of the Atlantic and Pacific by ties of common interest, traffic, and commerce, and furnish millions in men and money for the common defense of the greatest Republic of any age.

Such is the glorious and natural expansion inaugurated and maintained by Jefferson, Monroe, Polk, and their compatriots; and it is far different from the imperialistic system, recently called expansion, which seeks to seize eight millions of people by force, and to that end create a large standing army and spend millions in naval equipments to maintain military rule against the will of the people in distant lands, inaccessible to those in need of homes and valuable mainly for the field it would afford for an army of spoilers to prey upon the industries of the native people. The expansion of Jefferson and the earlier days is something quite different and far better than this. The expansion of the past is a natural growth: imperialism is an excrescence upon the body politic. It is an attempt to force upon an unwilling people institutions which they do not understand, for which they do not ask, and for which they are not suited. It is the exploitation of distant possessions for the benefit of those who deal in franchises and grow rich by speculation and who expect to grow rich from the property that can be acquired and the money that can be wrung out of an alien people by taxation. Such a system calls for the creation of large war fleets, the maintenance of large armies, hostile occupation of the country, and in time of war distant and inaccessible territory to defend. It is an attempt to force upon a republican form of government policies which have long been in favor with kings, emperors, czars, and foreign potentates. It affords no additional

homes for the poor and middle classes who, with scant means upon which to exist in this country, can neither emigrate to nor live with their families in tropical regions.

The expansion of the past constitutes the brightest pages in the history of our Republic. The proposed imperialism of the present and future if carried into effect will mark a departure from republican principles and systems and constitute the first pages in the history of the new empire.

E. V. LONG.

East Las Vegas, N. M.

II. ITS STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS.

IN the heat of a political campaign involving the question of imperialism, or indeed any other important issue, words are apt to be used in a partisan, rather than an accurate, sense. It is well to bear in mind that *imperialism* is a definite term, not an expression of reproach. Imperialism is a governmental policy in which the "consent of the governed" is not considered essential to the right to govern. Its most important tenet is the *non-universality* of the self-governing capacity; that some people are meant *to rule* and others *to be ruled*. The conscientious imperialist believes that the sovereignty of a State should be vested in just so many, or just so few, as will best exercise it for the welfare of all. The *result* is what the imperialist contemplates; the methods employed are secondary. He permits the end to justify the means. The end and aim of all government, with him—as indeed it is with the anti-imperialist also—is the greatest good for the greatest number. Peace, order, and prosperous business conditions are sought. Recognizing the importance of these, he will justify the exercise of autocratic power for their attainment.

On the other hand, the anti-imperialist, the adherent of Democracy as distinguished from Empire, believes the consent of the governed to be of vital importance; he sees in it a pre-

requisite to the very existence of a government. In his sight it is no mere phrase—this maxim that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; it is an eternal verity, and a government founded upon any other basis spells tyranny. Nor will the object sought, the ultimate good to be accomplished, mitigate the injustice he sees in a policy of imperialism. He cannot let the end, however beneficent, justify the means.

Between these widely divergent theories of government is an irrepressible conflict. It is world wide and as old as the ages, but to-day, as never before, is the issue drawn in this New World, and each day draws it clearer. To many persons the simple fact that this country was established as a protest against imperialism, and that we term it a Republic, is in itself a refutation of the cry that the spirit of imperialism is abroad in the land. Such persons fail to realize the subtleness of an idea. We may remain a Republic in name long after we become an Empire in fact. History has, again and again, shown such cases.

There are certain features about both the imperial and the democratic policies that appeal to us all. It is impossible to say "that policy is utterly vicious," or "this possesses superiority in all respects," of either one. It is to this fact that is due the woefully mixed condition of mind in which thousands find themselves to-day. We have all, until recently, considered ourselves as so definitely committed to democracy that we would have disavowed anything savoring of monarchy, on account of the mere name if for no other reason. But now the monarchical tendency is here—there is no use in denying this obvious fact; and certain features of it commend themselves to *us* just as they have to humanity in other ages and climes. And we are sadly confused as to where we stand.

It is the purpose of this article to show briefly and, as nearly as may be from a non-partizan standpoint, the strength of imperialism, the features that are apt to commend themselves to the honest citizen, and also the great, underlying, and fatal weakness of governments based on force. One obvious

thing is that imperialism rather than democracy tends toward tranquillity and order. The strong arm of militarism—the sway of unchallenged authority with the power to back and enforce its mandates—makes most decidedly for law and order. While imperialism tends strongly to engender hate and vindictiveness on the part of the conquered race, to make of them the “sullen, silent people,” as an imperialistic bard has sung, yet it does not *necessarily* breed the spirit of riot and rebellion, ready to break forth at the first opportunity. An absolute despot may be so wise, so statesmanlike, and so benevolent a ruler as to produce contentment. Such a one can postpone the day of reckoning.

Imperialism rather than democracy makes a community inviting to capital; for capitalists do not, as a rule, place their money in a country where revolutions are of biennial occurrence. They buy very few bonds of a government that is as likely as not to go out of business the next day, leaving good substantial debts but dissolving the debtor. Thus the Philippines under native control would most assuredly be a less secure place for capital than under American rule. Aguinaldo might, or he might not, establish a good government; but the very best native government would be too insecure a basis for any great London or New York financier to negotiate a loan upon. The next week's republic might repudiate it.

But as an American *possession*, backed by the faith and credit of the whole American nation, a Filipino bond issue might not be so untrustworthy a thing after all. Five per cent. might then keep fully abreast of its mate—philanthropy—were such a state of affairs to exist. Were we a carping, critical people; were we suspicious and inclined to search for ulterior motives—instead, honest folk that we are, of taking things on trust—we might perhaps ponder this phase of the question somewhat.

The South American republics furnish an illustration of democracy and an example toward which the imperialist may point. They are committed to the proposition of self-government, and the Monroe Doctrine guarantees them that privilege.

Yet there the revolution is a regular institution. The imperialist has, then, but to show how, were the strong arm of militarism stretched across the South American continent, trade would flourish, capital would flow in, the revolution would cease, and comparative quiet would reign. And all this he *could* show; it is as patent as day. But he makes the fatal mistake of overlooking Nature's supremest (?) law: Growth! Evolution! A nation must grow just as an individual—just as a plant. Every effort to *force* its growth is an error and works evil, not good. That is precisely what imperialism does. Every step empire-ward is a step backward.

The growth of a nation must depend upon the capacity of its people for self-government. This varies; but he that denies the existence of that capacity in some degree is impeaching either the justice or the intelligence of the Creator. National growth at its very best must be slow and painful. Our own history and daily life as a nation attest this fact. With the Latin races, who are more excitable, it is even harder; revolution and riot seem to be certainties with them. They are obstacles to be overcome before these peoples shall have completely worked out their destiny.

The Anglo-Saxon, of whom so much has been heard that is eulogistic of late—from the Anglo-Saxon—has not perhaps the shortcomings of the Latin races; but he has some that are peculiarly his own. Among the very worst of these is the preposterous and mad and infantile idea that Destiny leads him on to control the whole world. The sooner he sobers down the sooner will his *rational* ideals and institutions have a fair opportunity to prevail; and, so far as they deserve to, they *will* prevail—but it must be from their own inherent merit and superiority.

If Anglo-Saxon civilization is to rule the world, it must be because it is the *best* civilization, not the most blatant. It must become universal because of the example it sets to other forms of civilization. This, through democracy alone, can it do justly and properly. It is not only unnecessary but positively detrimental to the spread of our civilization to attempt it by con-

quest. That takes the worst, not the best, of Anglo-Saxon life to the alien people. We may go into the Philippines with our superior energy, but rapacity, not energy, will be the distinguishing feature about us to the native if we take from him his sovereignty. We may go there with Christianity, and our protestations may be sincere, but he will never believe in us so long as we preach the Golden Rule of Christ and practise the iron rule of despotism.

The name of England is more execrated throughout the world than that of any other nation. Why? Is it because, as she herself says, she is more successful than other nations, and success begets envy? That can but partially explain it. Were that the full explanation, America, too, would have been as cordially hated; for we have more in common with her, more of her characteristics, than any other nation, and are no whit behind her in enterprise and successful undertakings. It lies simply in the fact that Great Britain is committed to a policy that is wrong—a national policy that makes her professions seem too often but hypocrisy. It is not that the English are given to double-dealing and greed. The majority of them, as the majority of us—the majority of any people—are honest and well intentioned. But their national creed is such as wellnigh to choke an honest utterance. The English anti-imperialist has a hard fight. He must oppose the traditions of his country. With us it is the reverse. We need but be true to our history and national ideals, not because they are such merely, but because they are *right*. We need but continue steadfastly in our chosen course. That does not mean "contraction." It spells progress and growth. It means expansion of American ideals and institutions. These will in the future, as in the past, become more and more widespread as they are known and appreciated. They will receive an impetus, incalculable and unprecedented, when we proclaim to the world that we stand by our colors; that we are not a robber nation; that we yield to no false destiny, and propose to remain true to the principles of democracy upon which the Fathers builded. Then, when all this is done, Anglo-Saxon civilization shall

go forth undefiled, purged of Anglo-Saxon covetousness, to such victories as are yet unimagined.

ALBERT HESTON COGGINS.

Philadelphia, Pa.

III. ITS PLACE IN HISTORIC EVOLUTION.

MUCH has been said of late concerning the relative importance of the issues of the coming campaign, especially of those declared in party platforms to be the questions demanding public attention. It is within the personal recollection of nearly every voter that the prevailing issue of 1896 was the money question. This issue, being then uppermost in the American consciousness, drew party lines so closely at that time that those arrayed on one side are still disposed to emphasize that question, while others regard it as obscured, if indeed not entirely solved. This prejudice, due to the intense feeling displayed in that campaign and the strict alignment of parties, has partially obscured the usually keen intellectual vision of the American people. But, despite this fact and the contentions of many well-disposed persons, it seems to be the prevailing opinion that at present imperialism, and not a choice between monetary standards, is the paramount issue.

The superficial causes of the paramountcy of imperialism as an issue are not difficult to find. Democrats who once were in favor of the gold standard now declare the supremacy of imperialism, hoping thereby to relieve themselves from the embarrassment of inconsistency. Republicans who are opposed to the present Administration for any reason find this a very convenient vehicle in which to ride out of the party. Even the rank and file of the Democratic party, who have always remained faithful to the tenets of Democracy, are not averse to making imperialism the supreme issue, not because they have given up one jot of the money plank but because they recognize that the most effective slogan of the campaign will be found in an appeal for the perpetuity of republican insti-

tutions. In addition to these causes is the authoritative announcement of the Kansas City platform.

Not, however, because of these reasons is it supreme; the true cause lies deeper. The bare question of imperialism, stripped of all other matter and issues, could never arouse a people from its natural apathy and indifference to the heights of a moral enthusiasm that inspires the heart of man with irresistible energy. Imperialism, naked and bare, has to do with the mere outward forms of government. It touches at most only the political rights of men, of which the most important two are the rights to vote and to hold office. Comparatively few men can hold office, and fewer care to exercise the right of elective franchise except as a means to an end. Insure to them the end and they will care little for the means. If labor were industrially free, and if it were assured that that freedom was permanent—secure from all the encroachments of legislative treachery and the assaults of corporate wealth—it might with mental equipoise smile with contempt at the tinsel of a know-nothing nobility; it might even reluctantly acquiesce in granting titles to knights, lords, and dukes, and with serene composure view the parading of royalty.

Imperialism, however, is not barren of other most pregnant matter, and in its probable consequences is found the secret of the unyielding opposition to it. There is a close and vital connection between imperialism and other deeper questions that beat and throb in the life of the nation; and it is this relation that gives pith and point to the fight over the mere forms of government. Though this relation is not easily seen, yet it is not merely a blind and unerring instinct, arising from the long experience of a thousand years of struggling against oppression, but an intelligent insight of the masses into present tendencies and conditions, that leads to a life-and-death struggle against imperialism. The people realize, however dimly, that there is a vital relation between the imperialist's ideal form of government and the great forces of labor and industry.

To determine the nature of imperialism we must observe the character of those forms of government in the history of

political evolution that have led up to it and out of which it has grown. Previous to the world's epoch of imperialism there were two others of distinctive characteristics, blending, as all history does, in one consummate, evolving whole. The first was patriarchalism; the second was feudalism.

Patriarchalism was doubtless a universal system, as also it was the first in the line of political progress. Like all other systems of government, it sprang from the general existing conditions of civilization, such as those of commerce, property, labor, industry, and popular education, and it became their fitting expression. It was an age of universal incompetency and servitude. Grossly ignorant, the people were easily led by the more intelligent; weak, they required the protection of rulers; shrinking from the light, crouching in fear under the ban of ecclesiastical wrath and devoid of self-reliance, they courted political oblivion and were easily forced into it. They shunned both opportunity and responsibility. Subjective power lay dormant, and activity paraded on the stage of instinct, far below the lofty heights where reason reigns. The star of individual sovereignty, a bright harbinger of a higher civilization, had not yet arisen. Such a people could not do other than merge, in the theory and practise of their government, their own political rights into those of some superior.

Political power, therefore, necessarily vesting somewhere, naturally fell upon the one first exercising authority of any kind—the head of the family, the patriarch. His sway was over only a small and ever-changing domain, the jurisdictional idea being rooted in tribal rather than in territorial relations. It was over only a few in number, including merely those related either by consanguinity or affinity. The unit of civilization, the political family, smaller than in later times, was less stable, easily swept away, and unnoticed in its disappearance. The patriarch ruled with the absolutism of the autocrat. He was the sole origin of law and the sole arbiter in controversy. But this power, though severely rigid at times, was tempered by a close and intelligent sympathy with his subjects. A kindred feeling, unsuppressed by the artificial restraints of industrial

customs or the distinctions of social caste, spontaneously arose from ties of blood and association. But perhaps the truest index to the character of this epoch is the fact that the governing power was in its origin entirely objective to the governed, without the sanction of their consent.

Feudalism is the epoch immediately preceding imperialism in the evolution of government. During the period of transition from patriarchalism to feudalism self-reliance had been developing among the people. Expanding languages, a few discoveries and inventions, and an increasing general culture had brought a greater population and vaster territory into closer association, and thereby more and more separated and estranged the ruler and his subjects. The lord and serf were no longer bound together by the ties of affinity or consanguinity; the spell of blood was broken. The absence of these ties, so potent in the days of the patriarchs, was loosening both the hands of rulers and of people. Sympathy arising from relationship and association was dying, but another cause, the growing power and intelligence of the people, was operating to stay the hand of tyranny. Political power was gravitating toward the people; the scepter was slipping from the hands of lords into the hands of serfs. Those once ruled were now beginning to rule. Power in popular hands and an awakening self-consciousness were begetting an ever-deepening discontent. The lord's exalted station was becoming precarious, even dangerous. Observe, therefore, the reason for the two common characteristics of historic feudalism: the lord's castle on the hill on the one hand, surrounded by a moat and wall, and the villein village on the other, low situate in the field of feudal war.

In order to retain through fear and awe what had been lost by the failure of natural sympathy, the suzerain retired into a kind of exalted seclusion from the people. He ruled a greater population than the patriarch; his dominion was over a vaster territory, but rested on a more uncertain foundation—a revolutionary discontent. He stood on the proud eminence of opulent and aristocratic splendor; but from that dizzy height none might discern the ominous storm-brewing

movements among the people beneath that were soon to plunge him into endless extinction. A higher conception of society, like an alluring hope, was ever arising in the minds of men, warning rulers that the political system was soon to collapse. Lordly government was becoming less secure under the stress of intellect seeking the warrant of sovereign power. Thus the governing power, though still almost entirely objective to the people, was through the centuries becoming more subjective.

The third stage of political evolution was that of imperialism, which was the outgrowth of the feudal system. The old bonds of feudalism were breaking—freedom was gaining ground. The narrow territorial limits of the patriarch had stretched out into the broader dominions of the lord—thence to the still vaster boundary-lines of empire. The population under the sway of a single ruler had increased from a patriarchal family to a lordly clan, and from a lordly clan to a nationality. Reason with its lighted torch was steadily leading the people to higher intellectual heights and bolder achievements in the material world. It was the birth of an hour of highest hope, when the star of progress shone brightest in the path of nations. The art of printing was rapidly disseminating the principles of a universal liberty; the revival of learning and the renascence of literature had just begun; the great religious reformation was steadily spreading westward, and the argosies of commerce were beginning to ply their trade on every sea. Industry, as compared with its condition under feudalism, was extending the giant arms of its empire. Inventions, though few in number and crude in mechanism, were beginning to release the forces of Nature and free the manacled hands of labor. Improved tools and labor-saving machines were coming into use despite the advice and threats of kings—trembling lest released labor might become the monarch's greatest menace.

Political sovereignty, too, was drifting into the hands of the people. Parliaments were gradually encroaching upon the prerogatives of kings, thereby gaining greater security for life, liberty, and property. But the feeling against rulers, as com-

pared with that under prior systems, was intense, often bursting forth in the flames of revolution and civil war. During patriarchalism both ruler and ruled, bound in mutual sympathy, existed in a state of comparative amity; in feudal times the suzerain and serf were restrained by the power of class and caste: but under imperialism political relations, as a rule, settled down into feelings of mutual and inveterate hatred. Empire was held together by sheer force, but always felt a constant and terrific strain in every political muscle and fiber as the warning tremors of internal dissension thrilled along its nerves to the organ of royal intelligence. National unity was maintained by the repressive force of arms, but organic national unity never existed. Under the first two systems wars usually arose from without the realm, but under imperialism, because of the strained relations between ruler and ruled, they often, if not usually, sprang from internal conditions, culminating in fraternal and internecine strife.

In order to repress this feeling and stay the omnipotent forces that were shifting political supremacy into the subjective world, where it was becoming permanently resident in the people, two systems were instituted. The first of these was the parade and show of royalty, by which popular reason was subjected to the imaginative spell of reverence and awe. The suzerain's position may have been insecure, resting on the whims of a fickle proletariat; but far more so was that of the king, ruling a people just awaking from a thousand years of medieval sleep, and just beginning to feel the first pulse-beats of a newer life and hope.

The second system by which the supremacy of the people was being checked was the institution of militarism. Rallying under the impulse of despair, kings sought to reinvest their slipping scepter by foisting upon the nations the enthralling system of vast standing armies and navies: But this only deferred the attainment of political freedom. The danger signal of kings was just ahead; the forces of history were steadily and surely driving them on to extinction. In the hour when the star of hope was beginning to dawn upon a race enslaved,

in the resplendent morning of a newer civilization, came the death scene of royalty. Those present must have witnessed a deep and labored breathing, a long shriek, and a splendid agony as the scepter fell from its nerveless grasp. It was the passing of kingship. Thenceforward the old cry: "The king [the person] is dead; long live the king [the kingship]!" was to be wrought into the finer and more humane proclamation: "The kingship is dead; long live the king!"

Thus had ended three epochs in political history. And what* an evolution was here, of rulers and of ruled! Patriarch, a kind of fatherly theocrat. Lord, a historic mummy embalmed in artificial glory. King—the very terseness of title bearing something of vigor and reverence. He, ruled of the patriarch, abject, debased, without even a characteristic name. Vassal, the shadow of personality behind a moving thing. Subject, pregnant with the possibilities of the Citizen that in the coming Democracy will be. Thus had the forces of evolution, inherent in the nature of man, raised into name and place a nameless people.

But a still better day for political liberty was about to dawn. The sun that had set in the marshes of European slavery and despotism, in those centuries that went out with a curse, was soon to rise in rekindled splendor on the shores of the New World. The veil of ocean mists was rent and the peering eyes of Europe's teeming millions, in dire oppression groaning, caught the first ray of hope and saw in the Western sky the sign of victory for a triumphant people.

It was the ushering in of the fourth and last era in political history. The epoch of Democracy has come. All the people (*demos*) are to rule (*kratein*), being the sole repositories of political power. So-called democracies, indeed, and republics merely in name, there have been prior to our time. But in this country was first enunciated the principle that the ruler is subject to the will of the governed, in majorities expressed, and derives his power from their consent. Here political power has become entirely subjective and permanently resident in the governed. In popular language every man is a sov-

ereign. The Citizen—a name honored throughout the earth—has acquired the dignity and function of patriarch, suzerain, and king, simultaneously becoming more obedient to law than subject, vassal, or nameless serf. His civil, personal, and industrial rights are the origin and only warrant for the exercise of political power, however often and to whatever extent it may be delegated; for that power ever returns to its home in the governed when surrendered by those temporarily exercising it.

Under democracy modern life, in striking contrast to that of former times, has become strong, practical, rational, individualistic, and humane. Not in the caprice and arbitrary will of the few, but deep in the common sense of the millions, are laid the foundations of modern society. The rational universal consciousness of man, led by the scientific spirit, seeks ever to formulate the law and rationale of things, and remorselessly brings everything to test in the flaming crucible of experience. To-day it heralds throughout the land a new-found truth, and to-morrow the masses take it up, test it, and make it the corner-stone of their constitution. In the struggles of more than a hundred years the great principles of democracy have been tested and proved, and have not been found wanting. And these principles, which some would have us abandon for the glitter and show of the imperialism of a former day, will never be surrendered if the American people remain true to their traditions, their hopes, and themselves.

GEORGE WARREN KENNEY.

Springfield, Ill.

HOW ENGLAND AVERTED A REVOLUTION OF FORCE.

A LESSON FOR THE PRESENT.

TO the wise man the story of the past is ever pregnant with promises and warnings—lessons that, when a people becomes wise enough to profit by the example of those who have gone before, will insure an uninterrupted upward movement along the highway of progress. Injustice, selfishness, and greed may seem to flourish for a time, and the individual, the class, the nation, or the civilization practising them may appear to prosper by wrong-doing; but so surely as the universe is governed by law the day arrives at length when the people, the nation, or the civilization that has builded on the sands of injustice, oppression, and wrong goes down. And indeed any deflection from the eternal principles of justice and rectitude brings retribution; though it is true that a nation may for a time heedlessly ignore the fundamentals upon which enduring progress, growth, and happiness depend, and yet happily save itself if the conscience of its people can be so aroused that society and government come to a realization of the danger before the tempest of human passion, hate, and bitterness breaks forth, destroying the good with the bad and leaving chaos in its wake.

In modern times France has afforded a striking illustration of what sooner or later may be expected to overtake any people where the government refuses to recognize the solidarity of the race and the interdependence of the units that constitute the fabric of the State. On the other hand, the England of our century has given a no less impressive example of how a revolution of force may be averted and the ends of progress gained through peaceable and evolutionary methods when the leaders of the nation are great and wise enough to insist on organization and education and an appeal to the conscience, reason, and

judgment of the units throughout the State, until the moral impulses of the people are so aroused that an advance movement becomes inevitable. In the present period of unrest in our own land, when there are so many ominous signs of hostility and bitterness between different sections of society, the lesson of the England of the forties is at once timely and of especial value to those who appreciate the importance of preventing an arrest of civilization through violent revolution, or its destruction through greed and selfishness.

To friends of popular government there has seldom been a decade of greater interest or one more instructive in its practical lessons than the first ten years of Queen Victoria's reign, for during this period the spirit of progressive democracy was introduced into the political life of Great Britain to such an extent that it may almost be said to have changed the genius or character of the government. True, the new spirit was present when the great Reform Measure of 1832 was passed, but personal government could not be said to have given place to constitutional rule during the reign of William IV. Victoria, however, accepted the spirit as well as the letter of the new demand born of the democratic ideal, which was to be progressively and practically applied to public affairs; hence, her rule signaled the advent of the republican spirit, which has been fostered and expanded with the succeeding decades.

History has afforded many sad illustrations of republican shells masking imperial despotism or intolerable tyrannies, under autocratic or oligarchic rules; but in England we find the form and paraphernalia of monarchy mantling a government that, since the dawn of the Victorian age, has successively enlarged the rights and privileges of the people, and that has from year to year accepted the larger demand of a free government whose face is set toward the republican ideal. For this reason a brief survey of the period will prove helpful and I think inspiring to those who are earnestly working for freedom, fraternity, and happiness, based on justice and enlightenment.

The condition and general outlook in England during this

period were in so many respects analogous to those present in France when Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette ascended the throne that the happy outcome in Great Britain stands in bold and brilliant relief against the dark background of the wanton slaughter of life and destruction of property that marked the Reign of Terror.

In each country the transition was revolutionary, working changes of a fundamental and far-reaching character. In France all the savage and brutal instincts of millions were unleashed, resulting in a night of unparalleled ferocity, in which reason, justice, love, and humanitarian impulses were banished to enthroned hate and glut revenge. In England, on the other hand, a revolution, scarcely less fundamental, but slower in its processes, was carried to a victorious issue by peaceable measures, primarily through the unremitting and indefatigable labor of a little band of social reformers who fully understood the meaning and importance of the words *organization* and *education*; and secondly by the presence of far-seeing, courageous, and incorruptible statesmanship, unhampered by the throne.

The first decade of the Victorian age was, to use the language of Dr. Charles Mackay, "a transition period from the old England to the new. The slow civilization of our grandfathers was giving place to the far more active, prying, aggressive civilization of the present day—the day of steam, electricity, and engineering, and of material rather than intellectual or moral progress." ("Forty Years' Recollections.") Moreover, the difficulties and obstacles, at home and abroad, which confronted the State were of the gravest character. In Canada revolution, in Jamaica threatened revolt, and in India the rising mutterings of a coming storm, were enough to tax the wisdom of far greater statesmen than easy-going Melbourne and his associates. But, serious as were these dangers, they sank into comparative insignificance before the rising storm of social discontent that, swelled as it was by many different tributaries, threatened to sweep away the old régime with the fury that had marked the continental revolutions.

Intelligently to appreciate the difficulties that the statesmanship of the forties had to meet, it will be necessary to call to mind some of the leading sources of popular discontent. The fifty years that preceded the coronation of the Queen had revolutionized the thought of Europe. The vigorous young republic over the waters, despite the gloomy predictions which had been confidently and persistently made for half a century, had moved forward with stately and uninterrupted tread, until she occupied a commanding position among the positive and inspiring powers of civilization. Men of the Old World had become convinced that the daring ideals of the new order were practical. The republic was "a great fact," and its success had excited the wonder of the world and the admiration of friends of freedom in all lands.

The French Revolution, through its excesses and the failure of the experiment, had caused a revulsion in public feeling; but despite this it had shaken every throne in western Europe, and planted a great new hope in the hearts of millions of people. Moreover, the broadly humanitarian and philosophic controversies and intellectual agitations, which preceded and followed the Revolution, had appealed to the conscience, rationality, and sense of justice of more than one English statesman, while it produced a profound and indelible impression on the great middle class of the nation. Another factor that strengthened the revolutionary impulses was the new-born confidence, on the part of the masses, in their own power when once banded together. The starving miseries of France had proved irresistible against even the Bastille and the throne, when once they acted in concert. This great fact had taken lodgment in the minds of tens of thousands of the very poor, who seemed too ignorant to appreciate the higher motives that actuated the lovers of justice who were fighting the battle of progress; and this realization of the possibility of victory made them far less patient than they had been before the upheaval in France. At this time also all of western continental Europe was fast moving toward a revolutionary outbreak, and England had become infected with the spirit of revolt. Then, again,

during the last two reigns the nation had passed from a personal monarchy to a constitutional form of government; and the vanishing of the old reverence that hedged the throne was perceptible among every class, though perhaps nowhere so conspicuous as among the very poor, whose lot was pitiable in the extreme.

The tendency to revolt was favored by the general temper of the age. It was a time when the thought of the nation was in a state of flux. The old views were rapidly falling away. Ancient theories were being questioned when, indeed, they were not impatiently discarded. The old ideals were giving place to new concepts more in harmony with the broader thought that had come with the larger life of the age. It was as if the word *change* were graven over every gateway of research. In science, in religion, in commerce and trade, no less than in political and social economy, there was a degree of restlessness that always marks a time of growth and transition and that gives impetus to revolutionary impulses. The value of steam and the wonders and uses of electricity were new to the nation, and the effect of these discoveries already stimulated the brains of thousands of inventive geniuses, while they opened new worlds of possibilities before the mercantile and trading classes. Physical science also was girding herself for the most brilliant march of discovery in the history of the ages—a march in which Great Britain was to take a leading place. Charles Darwin had returned from his memorable voyage around the world in the "Beagle," and with brain teeming with new and wonderful thought, born of his research, he was busily engaged in his immortal works; while Alfred Russell Wallace, Herbert Spencer, John Tyndall, and others who were to make the present century forever glorious in the history of scientific progress, were in the flush of early manhood.

In the domain of religion the revolutionary impulses were very marked. The rise of physical science, with the startling new theories of evolution; the raising of the interrogation point by investigators in natural history, geology, astronomy, and indeed in all departments of scientific investigation; the general

quickening of the spirit of unrest and skepticism; the spread of German transcendentalism, and the dissemination of the philosophic French liberalism, were influencing the thought of England. And perhaps this was nowhere more apparent than in the broadening vision of great divines and churchmen. But this invasion of the precincts of the Church by the newer thought and speculation, while it wove a fascinating spell over many of the noblest thinkers, naturally produced a powerful reaction in the minds of others not less able or conscientious, who beheld with the gravest apprehension the fading away of the old reverence for form, rite, ritual, and dogma. To them it seemed that the Church, loosed from her moorings, was floating into a sea of skepticism. In 1833 the famous Oxford Movement was inaugurated by John Henry Newman and other able and intensely religious men. They were reactionists who unconsciously had set their faces toward Rome. And this movement was quickly followed by one of the most memorable religious controversies that have marked the history of England since the days of the Stuarts.

It is quite clear that the general spirit of the time indicated widespread unrest; but, passing from a general survey to a closer scrutiny of the political, social, and economic conditions, we see everywhere indications of a great storm brewing. The agitation that had convulsed England during the long, memorable, and bitterly contested Reform bill struggle had interested as never before the masses of the English people in political measures; and, as is always the case when some distinctly progressive measure is enacted, this bill had aroused extravagant and unwarranted expectations in the minds of tens of thousands of the slow-thinking toilers, which in the nature of things were not to be realized; while the more discerning and discriminating among progressive Englishmen, who regarded the measure as the opening wedge leading to greater and more important laws, were bitterly disappointed on finding that the Liberal or Whig party had no intention of involving the country in further agitation by taking the "next step." The laboring classes were enraged by the refusal of the Mel-

bourne ministry to demand an extension of the franchises. "They," says Mr. Justin McCarthy, in his "History of Our Own Times," "in the opinion of many of the ablest and most influential representatives, were not merely left out but were shouldered out. This was all the more exasperating because the excitement and agitation by the strength of which the Reform bill was carried in the teeth of so much resistance were kept up by the workingmen." Throughout the kingdom the rising tide of angry discontent, which had rapidly increased during the latter half of William's reign, grew ominously as the terrible distress of the workers in the great cities increased during the opening years of Victoria's rule. It was this rebellious spirit, born of a sense of injustice on the part of tens of thousands of English laborers and the dreadful suffering, both from over-work and under-pay, which prevailed at this time, that gave so sinister an aspect to the general outlook. In all the great cities there were thousands of persons in a state of chronic hunger. The opening winter of Victoria's reign proved extremely severe, and from this time forth until the repeal of the Corn Laws the portentous shadow of revolution rose darkly and in increasing proportions against the background of the political sky in Great Britain.

To appreciate the grievances of the people it is well to glance for a moment at their condition. In the mining regions, for example, the revelations brought out by a parliamentary investigation, secured by Lord Ashley, seem at the present day almost beyond belief, and are enough to excite horror in the mind of the most easy-going conventionalist. In some of the coal mines, says Justin McCarthy in the work already quoted, this investigation showed that women were "literally employed as beasts of burden. Where the seam of coal was too narrow to allow them to stand upright, they had to crawl back and forward on all fours for fourteen to sixteen hours a day, dragging the trucks laden with coal. The trucks were generally fastened to a chain, which passed between the legs of the unfortunate women and was then connected with a belt strapped around their naked waists. Their only clothing consisted of a pair of

trousers made of sacking ; they were uncovered from the waist up. . . . It would be superfluous to say that the immorality engendered by this state of things was in exact keeping with the other evils which it brought about."

In the villages and rural districts, as well as in the great cities, there was widespread misery among the poor ; but in the manufacturing centers the suffering was most acute. The noble-minded poet, Thomas Cooper, has related many typical illustrations that help us to understand the feeling of the poor. On one occasion he says that a poor stockinger rushed into his home exclaiming : "I wish they would hang me ! I have lived on cold potatoes that were given me these two days, and this morning I've eaten a raw potato for sheer hunger." On another occasion, when an address was being delivered by one of the Chartists, one poor man exclaimed : "Let us be patient a little longer ; surely God Almighty will help us soon !" "Talk to us no more about thy Goddle Mighty," was the prompt retort ; "there isn't one ! If there was one, he wouldn't let us suffer as we do !"

Under these conditions the great Chartist movement, which seemed to accomplish so little but in reality wrought so much in leavening public opinion, was created. The organization was formed as the result of a great reform meeting held in Birmingham, and its name was given by Daniel O'Connell, who, handing a draft of the demands to the secretary of the Working-men's Association, said : "There is your Charter. Agitate for it and never be contented with anything less." The nobler spirits of this movement were in a true sense prophets. They became the articulate voice of the suffering thousands of England after the latter had been driven by their own misery from a condition of apathy to something akin to a revolutionary state.

After reading of the storm of opposition that confronted the Chartists on every hand, the breaking up of their meetings, the imprisonment of their leaders, and the painful persecutions carried on in the name of the law, one would naturally suppose that the document or platform upon which this new party stood contained much of a revolutionary if not incendiary char-

acter; yet as a matter of fact it contained nothing that was unreasonable, and indeed its vital points have all long since been granted. Briefly, it made six demands, as follows: (1) Universal suffrage. (2) Annual parliaments. (3) Vote by ballot. (4) Abolition of property qualification. (5) Payment of members of parliament. (6) Division of the country into equal electoral districts.

These simple and reasonable demands aroused the most bitter and furious opposition, expressed in the vigorous persecution on the part of the government of the orators and leaders of the movement. The interference with the meetings and the arrest of the speakers frequently led to riots, in one of which ten persons were killed and fifty wounded. "The leading Chartist all over the country," says Justin McCarthy, "were prosecuted and tried, literally by hundreds. In most cases they were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment." As might naturally be expected, this treatment greatly increased the bitterness of the people, and the general discontent was so augmented that in the early forties we find England rapidly moving toward a state that threatened forcible revolution. At this juncture, however, there arose another influence in English political life that served to avert the storm, and yet secured for the people the reform measures most urgently required, while the victory was of such a nature as to set the face of the government toward national and progressive Liberalism.

The memorable Anti-Corn Law movement is one of the most thrilling and instructive passages in modern history. Its success unquestionably saved England from the throes of a bloody revolution, and, what is still more important, the intellectual agitation carried on by the League materially furthered the nation in its progress toward freedom. The republican ideal, largely through this movement, became fixed in the popular imagination, and the general trend of the nation, so far as the island government is concerned, has since 1846 been toward broader freedom and juster conditions. The story of the rise, progress, and victory of the Anti-Corn Law and Free Trade crusade rightly demands the careful consideration of patriotic

citizens; because we have too few instances of successful revolutions of a radical or fundamental character being accomplished without force or bloodshed, and still rarer have been the instances where the governing classes have failed to retard the onward movement of the larger spirit of freedom and justice, born in the stress of the revolutionary agitation.

The Anti-Corn Law agitation was in its inception a movement largely due to the misery of the poor, who suffered from a great, oppressive, and law-bulwarked monopoly; and many of its pioneer apostles were men like the Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P., wholly disinterested patriots, moved entirely by love of justice and hatred of oppression. Later, however, when the agitation became active, aggressive, and formidable, it became largely a class movement directed against a class interest. The manufacturers, primarily of Manchester and later of various cities and towns, formed a league, and they contributed the greater part of the money for the educational agitation that revolutionized the thought and quickened the conscience of the nation. It cannot be denied that the manufacturers were largely actuated by self-interest; yet there was this marked difference between the two class movements: The Corn Laws were in the line of restriction. They abridged the rightful freedom of the people in order that the wealth of the few might be augmented, and in so doing they operated so as to increase the misery and suffering of millions of Englishmen, even causing starvation and death. On the other hand, the League fought for a wholesome freedom. Its cause was not only fundamentally just, but in perfect alignment with the prosperity, comfort, and happiness of the masses, and therefore it was working for the well-being of the nation. There was something at once amazing, pathetic, and amusing in the "unctuous rectitude" of the defenders of the Corn Laws, when they lifted their hands in horror at the sordid selfishness of the manufacturers who were seeking the repeal of the obnoxious class legislation. The advocates of the landed interests were shocked beyond measure to find the designing manufacturers seeking to advance their interests by unmasking the essential

injustice of the Corn Laws and showing how, by their operation, the workers were compelled to pay high prices for bread and receive low wages; while the enforced idleness of thousands, chiefly due to the stagnation in manufacturing and trade, was another result of the Chinese wall of protection which the gentry had builded for their own enrichment. To read the Tory press of the time one would almost feel that the beneficiaries of the Corn Laws were about the only thoroughly disinterested citizens in the realm.

The Anti-Corn Law League, however, set to work to accomplish the repeal of the unjust statutes. It was organized in the early part of 1839. Its leading spirits were men of the highest moral rectitude. Indeed, had their greed for gain and desire for self-advancement been paramount, it is doubtful whether they would have ever succeeded in overcoming the opposition that confronted them at every point. Only that moral enthusiasm which is born on the highest plane of human emotion—only that disinterested passion for justice, freedom, and human happiness which makes men prophets and apostles in a great cause—could have proved invincible, or at least could have effected a peaceable revolution in less than ten years.

The founders of the League had no sooner inaugurated their aggressive campaign than they found well-nigh all the opinion-forming factors in society arrayed against them. The Church, statesmen of all parties, and reform leaders alike opposed the innovators. The press of the kingdom, with few exceptions, was closed to the League. The Tories and Chartists vied with each other in bitterness—one because the League was too revolutionary, the other because it was not revolutionary enough. The Whig and Liberal papers took their cue from the ministry, and Lord Melbourne had declared that the idea of the repeal of the Corn Law was madness. Seldom in the history of progress has a great reform movement confronted such united opposition. But the leaders of the League were far more than mere moral enthusiasts. They were men of rare executive ability—natural commanders and executors. Two things were first agreed upon: compact organization and sys-

tematic education. And, since the press was closed to them, the first step was to send public speakers into the various cities and towns to proclaim the new economic gospel. Great meetings were accordingly held, first in great manufacturing centers and later throughout England. They were phenomenal in character, resembling religious revival services in the deep enthusiasm and profound moral fervor that pervaded them. The leaders and speakers became veritable apostles of the new social gospel. They believed most sincerely in the righteousness, justice, and morality of their cause. They consecrated their lives to the movement with the same enthusiasm that marked the most sincere and devoted apostles of religion in the virgin days of the Church. As we would naturally suppose, these great gatherings quickly aroused the alarm and indignation of the opposition. In many places all public halls were refused. Frequently the innkeepers declined to furnish food and lodging to the speakers, for fear of loss of patronage. In one town a landowner offered a certain amount of wheat to any one who would throw the speaker into the river. On some occasions the missionaries were mobbed. In one town the promise of the use of the hall was rescinded, and when the speakers addressed the people from the market-place they were arrested and fined for obstructing the public highway. But perhaps the most brutal exhibition of the mob spirit occurred in Cambridge, the students of the great university being the offenders. Opposition, however, only seemed to increase the zeal and activity of the reformers.

The printing-press was also called to the aid of the League. It was an age of tracts. Every unpopular cause, finding the door of the public press closed, resorted to pamphlets and leaflets. In order to raise sufficient money for the gigantic propaganda that was being called into existence, great bazaars and fairs were held in the various cities. Something of the enthusiasm of the people may be gathered from the fact that a bazaar held in Manchester raised \$50,000 for this propaganda fund. This done, the next step was to issue pamphlets and tracts, and flood every district where an interest had been

created with such literature as would appeal most readily to the class addressed. "Since the press is against us," said one of the leaders, "we must sow England knee-deep in leaflets." For this purpose presses were set to work, publishing hundreds of thousands of brief, pithy arguments, catechisms, telling statements, fables, stories, and ringing verses, all written in such a manner as to appeal to the simplest minds. Those who attended the meetings were supplied with packages of leaflets, some one or more of which was pretty certain to make a lasting impression on the mind of the recipient, if he was sufficiently interested in the cause before leaving the meeting to peruse them. The effect of the campaign was soon felt throughout the length and breadth of the island. Despite all the efforts of the opposition, everywhere the people were talking of the repeal of the Corn Laws; and at length some of the great organs opened their columns to the League. The most important of these was the London *Chronicle*, at that time one of the foremost dailies of the world. The great majority of the influential journals of Great Britain, however, long remained bitter in their opposition. One London paper insisted that the League was composed of unprincipled schemers and self-conceited socialists. Another insisted that it was composed of equal parts of commercial swindlers and political swindlers; while a third, "with edifying unction denounced their sentiments as subversive of all moral right and order, their organization as a disloyal faction, and their speakers as revolutionary emissaries whom all peaceable and well-disposed persons ought to assist the authorities in peremptorily putting down." (Morley's "Life of Richard Cobden.")

Great as had been the interest created throughout the kingdom in the new social gospel, it must not be supposed that the people were yet ready seriously to entertain the propositions of Messrs. Cobden and Bright. The masses of a great nation are always conservative. No matter how beneficent, how wise, reasonable, and just a proposition may be, if it runs counter to the long-established customs and prejudices of the people it is sure to arouse stubborn opposition, and can only

hope to succeed after a long and hard-fought battle. And so after two years of vigorous campaigning the opposition seemed to be more strongly intrenched than ever, as the Liberal ministry was overthrown in 1841 and Sir Robert Peel, who had long been recognized as the master spirit in the opposition to the repeal of the Corn Laws, was called to form a new Cabinet. It is true that at this time Richard Cobden was elected to the House of Commons, and the little band of the repealers was thus reenforced by one of the most persuasive speakers of the age. But the great majority in both houses returned at this time were Tories, pledged to the maintenance of the obnoxious class laws. The hope entertained by many reformers, that the action of the Tory government would lead to a sweeping revolution in public sentiment, was doomed to disappointment, partly on account of the wisdom of Sir Robert Peel, but chiefly because of three years of splendid crops following a number of years of poor harvests. And just here it may be well to notice for a moment the action of the great Prime Minister who was destined to immortalize himself as the statesman of the forties who dared to "desert his party to save his nation." Though so early as 1842 Sir Robert Peel was by no means ready to take the step that might mean political hari-kari, yet he realized the fact that some radical and salutary measures were urgently demanded. Hence, he boldly introduced the wise, beneficent, and practical Income and Inheritance taxes; and Tory though he was, with a party representing the wealthy of England, he pressed these measures through both houses of parliament and succeeded in placing upon the statute-books of Great Britain laws that we would naturally expect the great Republic would have had the glory of initiating. The tariff was also somewhat reformed, and other measures that we would naturally suppose would come from a Liberal rather than a Conservative administration, marked the early forties. As has been observed, coincident with the success of the Tories came the first of three seasons of large crops. Corn was plentiful and comparatively cheap. For many years Mr. Cobden and the League had insisted that with an abundance of grain at low prices the

discontent and unrest of the people would decrease, work would become more plentiful, and a measure of prosperity would return. Their predictions were verified, and, though the cause of the change lay chiefly in the abundant harvests instead of the wisdom of the Tories, the changed condition operated against the Anti-Corn Law League. The people, then as now, looked only on the surface. They had been hungry under the Liberal ministry. The Tories had come into power, had given them some salutary reform legislation, and the land had yielded bountifully. They were now able to get cheap bread, and their condition had improved. Therefore, the Tories, they reasoned, were the true statesmen; and in 1844 their satisfaction was expressed at the polls in an overwhelming Conservative majority in both houses of parliament. It also was evident that the zeal of many of the Leaguers was growing cold, while among the people the literature of the reformers was no longer being eagerly sought for or perused with avidity; and their great meetings lacked the old-time enthusiasm and numbers. But, though the unthinking many were losing faith in the soundness of the contention of the Manchester school, some of England's greatest thinkers were being forced to the conviction that the claims of the League were right, just, and expedient; and among this number was the honest but slow-thinking Prime Minister of the realm. For three years he had been compelled carefully to dissect all of Mr. Cobden's arguments, that he might meet them; and, being an honest man before he was a politician, he soon found himself questioning the correctness of his own position. For some time many Tories had expressed grave doubts about the attitude of Sir Robert Peel on the Corn Laws. A horrible suspicion was growing that the Prime Minister had become infected with the heresy of the League. In February and early March of 1845 the Corn Laws came up—they were sure to come up at every session; and during this discussion Mr. Cobden made one of the greatest speeches, if not the most masterly, of his life in parliament. Sir Robert Peel, who was seated by the brilliant young statesman, Mr. Sidney Herbert, began taking

notes. Soon, however, he crumpled up the paper and threw it on the floor, and turning to Mr. Herbert he said, "You will have to answer him; I cannot." That night it is said that when crossing the lobby some one said, "Sir Robert, that speech of Cobden's will be hard to answer;" and the Prime Minister, turning, said under his voice and with great earnestness, "It is unanswerable."

Still the motion to repeal the Corn Laws was overwhelmingly defeated, and it appeared that long years of weary waiting and toil would be required to break down the apparently insurmountable opposition. Richard Cobden, with his clear vision, saw farther and better than most of his confrères. He knew that England had been educated on this question. He knew that the failure of a single crop would compel the temporary opening of the ports for grain; and furthermore he knew that, once opened, they would never be closed again. In the summer of 1845, in a public address, he predicted that three weeks of showery weather, when the wheat was in the bloom or ripening, would repeal the Corn Laws. And even while he was speaking Nature was at work, and events were hurrying on that proved in a startling manner the truth of his prophecy. Famine, against which the League had so manfully fought for seven years, was about to become its most efficient ally.

Early in the autumn of 1845 an ugly rumor gained currency—a rumor that filled the landed class with grave forebodings and made the Anti-Corn Law League awaken from its lethargy. Reports from Ireland alleged that a potato famine was impending—the rainy season had produced the rot in the vegetable that was the staple food of the island. Without the potato, and with ports closed to corn, tens of thousands of English subjects would starve to death. The Tory press promptly denied the "absurd report," which the editors were sure was an alarmist's cry manufactured by the League; but as the days passed the indisputable confirmation of the terrible news made doubt impossible to any who desired to know the truth. Instantly the League was alive. Cobden, Bright, and other clear-visioned leaders saw full well that agitation now meant everything; and

as if by magic the Anti-Corn Law presses began to pour forth pamphlets and leaflets, while the Liberal journals opened fire and great meetings were again held throughout England.

The Prime Minister found himself face to face with one of the most perplexing problems that can face a statesman. No one in the realm better understood the real temper of the English people at this time than did Sir Robert Peel. He also knew that events were ripening on the Continent which in all probability within a few years would culminate in widespread revolutions. Should England become a theater for a bloody reckoning; or should her statesmanship rise superior to prejudice, grant the just demands of the multitude, and thus avert the impending cataclysm? His position was an extremely painful one. He had been elected to uphold the Corn Laws. For years he had been their most efficient champion. Largely through his own masterful efforts his party was now strongly intrenched in all the ramifications of government; yet he was convinced that progress with peace was only to be attained through his turning his back upon his constituency, incurring the odious epithet of a traitor from the great party that had so long honored him, and in all probability also writing his own political death-warrant. It was a crucial moment, which tested the greatness of the man; and, happily for his nation and civilization, he chose to sacrifice himself rather than his people. "On the fourth of December, 1845," to use the language of Dr. Charles Mackay, "great political excitement was created in London and throughout the realm by an apparently authoritative announcement in the *Times* that Sir Robert Peel had not only become a convert to the principles of Free Trade generally, but had resolved to propose at the opening of Parliament in January the total, immediate, and unconditional abolition of the Corn Laws. . . . Some people thought they were imposed upon by an elaborate hoax; and the Glasgow Tories denounced it in plain, uncourteous speech as a lie. On the following day the *Times* repeated the assertion, in two separate articles, so emphatically and seriously that even the dismayed Protectionists could doubt no longer."

The Tories, however, were not disposed to yield. The Cabinet refused to follow the lead of Sir Robert. Hence, he resigned, and Lord John Russell, then the leader of the Liberals and a statesman who had recently come out unequivocally in favor of the repeal of the Corn Laws, was summoned by the Queen to form a Cabinet. His attempt, however, proved a signal failure, and Sir Robert Peel was again summoned. This time a Cabinet was formed in sympathy with the Prime Minister; and the champions of the two great opposing theories prepared for a life-and-death struggle.

On the twenty-second of January, 1846, parliament assembled. The Queen in person opened the session. The message from the throne foreshadowed the course about to be outlined by the ministry. Next came an elaborate address by Sir Robert Peel, in which he explained how he had been compelled, against his prejudice and his will, to change his views on the subject of Free Trade. He was so explicit as to leave no doubt that he had become a convert to the Manchester school. He insisted that the time, in his opinion, had come when "that Protection which he had taken office to maintain must be abandoned forever." This bold announcement created consternation among the Tories, and especially the beneficiaries of the Corn Laws; for, though the public had been prepared for a somewhat radical stand, few imagined that at the very opening of the session the leader of the Conservatives would come forward and announce his unqualified acceptance of the principles of the League. Instantly he became the target for a general and furious attack. He was assailed with a degree of bitterness which is only called forth when a leader renounces a cause that he has hitherto triumphantly upheld. No personalities or abusive epithets seemed out of place in the mouths of the opposition. The Conservative press vied with the Tory leaders in terms of reproach. He was characterized as "Judas Iscariot," "Jerry Sneak," and "Jim Crow;" and it was at this time that Benjamin Disraeli, who had entered the House as an extreme Radical among the Liberals, and throughout nine sessions had made many failures and often rendered himself

ridiculous, rose at a single stroke to a commanding position by an amazingly brilliant arraignment of Sir Robert Peel.

On the twenty-seventh of January the Prime Minister announced his program, accompanying it with an address of great power. Then followed one of the most intensely exciting parliamentary struggles in the history of England, which culminated, so far as the House was concerned, on the fifteenth of March, when the measure was passed by a majority of ninety-eight. It was promptly sent to the House of Lords, where on the twenty-fifth of June, after another prolonged struggle, it received the sanction of the upper house. The announcement set England aflame with enthusiasm. One of the influential papers of the day, in an excellent summary of the achievement, said: "A great revolution has been peacefully achieved; a revolution unstained by bloodshed—having for its object no dethronement of a dynasty, no substitution of one tyranny in the place of another—having no punishment, no harshness, no evil of any kind in its composition—was wrought by discussion alone, and by the inherent and irresistible powers of Truth and Justice."

The repeal of the Corn Laws proved the political doom of Sir Robert Peel, but the splendid work he achieved in successfully carrying the measure in the face of such opposition was glory enough for one life. It was incomparably the most important political measure achieved since the enactment of the Reform bill in 1832, and its passage signaled the advancement of England on a long and marvelously prosperous career. It marked, moreover, the triumph of the people over a stubborn aristocracy; the victory of justice over greed; of the masses over the favored few. It was vibrant with the new spirit of popular rule. And, finally, the great popular victory averted the revolution of force which was without doubt pending, and which, had it not been for the repeal, would have broken out in terrible fury in 1848, when the Continent became the theater of such general uprisings of the people as had never before been known.

This victory was one of the most signal in the history of

modern times. It was rendered possible by the consecration to duty's august demand of a few high-minded men, and their wisdom, ability, and unceasing perseverance in carrying forward a forlorn hope by means of educational methods that touched brain and heart.

It was frequently urged that, no matter how much the people were educated on the question, the parliament would never consent to the reforms, as its members were too deeply interested in the maintenance of the special privileges, and the landed interests would be able easily to defeat a sufficient number of representatives even to render its passage probable in the Commons; while, should it by any chance pass the lower house, the Lords would never consent to ratify a proposition that would deplete their revenues in so substantial a way. The force of this argument will be appreciated when we call to mind these words of Mr. McCarthy: "The free trade leaders must have found their hearts sink within them when they came sometimes to confront that fortress of traditions and vested rights. Even after the change made in favor of manufacturing and middle class interests by the Reform bill, the House of Commons was still composed, as to nine-tenths of its whole number, by representatives of the landlords. The entire House of Lords was then constituted of the owners of the land. All tradition, all prestige, all the dignity of aristocratic institutions, seemed to be naturally arrayed against the new movement." And yet with the great press closed to the League, with the landed interests and the nobility a unit against the reform, with the Church either openly in sympathy with the Tories or discreetly silent, with the Chartists fighting the repealers as vigorously as were the Conservatives, and with parliament overwhelmingly in favor of retaining the odious measure, the League compelled victory to walk over the highway of progress, which for so many years had only known the presence of defeat.

The fact that in a period of eight years this little band of moral heroes was able to work so mighty a revolution should prove to all reformers that there need be no such word as *fail*, if a just and true cause can call to its aid a few men who are

willing to dedicate their very existence to its triumph, and who will exert wisdom in their work as well as the enthusiasm born of a passionate love for justice. The Anti-Corn Law League did not seek victory in a day, but it did set out to convince the reason and arouse the conscience of every man and woman of intelligence and conviction who was open to the truth; and by working along this line they builded in a way that made final victory inevitable.

But the happy issue was not dependent wholly upon the League. As we have said, final victory was certain; yet had there been a George III. on the throne, or had the Prime Minister of the realm and the leader of the opposition been a Bourbon, we can easily see how England might have witnessed all the horrors of a bloody revolution, with its waste of life and destruction of property, and from which she would finally have arisen with hate and bitterness rife on every hand and with new dangers and complications to be grappled with, without the presence of that cool wisdom and sound judgment essential to the right settlement of any momentous issue.

Any just cause may be carried to victory if its apostles are consecrated, and if to wisdom they bring that high moral enthusiasm which has ever proved irresistible in moving mankind; but the peaceful settlement of a great cause will depend largely on the wisdom of the people in selecting only men of such lofty character that neither gold, ambition, nor flattery can seduce them from the highway of justice, nor abuse, slander, and unjust criticism can frighten them from the path of duty.

The lesson of the forties in Great Britain must prove at once instructive and inspiring to all who earnestly desire to see our great Republic fronting the eternal day, guided by wisdom and justice and love, and scorning sordid and selfish motives, which seek to turn her from her Heaven-sent mission as the leader of civilization's vanguard.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

MILITARISM OR MANHOOD?

OF those larger problems associated, either relatively or as consequences, with the question of standing armies, it is not my present purpose to treat, but rather of the seemingly smaller but really greater problem of the influence of the spirit of militarism upon the individual. To this, after all, the question must come. Always as a final test it must be asked, even of the most overshadowing governmental policy, What kind of man is nurtured by it? Not the question present to the mind of the legislator—how much may national wealth be increased?—but how will the soul grow and develop under it? By the value of their influence upon the individual must all systems stand or fall; and these influences are broadly comprehended within such as make for or against freedom, which has its concern not with communities of men but with Man.

It is not the purpose of this article to touch upon the immense cost of standing armies, nor the stupidity of that system which is spending millions to-day for engines of destruction that in consequence of fresh discovery may be useless to-morrow. Nor is it worth while to refer to the double injustice of sending the poor to be shot and later on charging their children with the expenses that are incurred. For the evils of war do not stop with the victims killed and wounded upon the battlefield; they do not end with the ending of the sorrows of those bereaved. War lays its heavy hand upon the infant sleeping in the cradle, and in burdens of taxation places along the future path of the unborn stumbling-blocks for little feet. In the indemnities demanded by the conqueror it visits future unoffending generations with its penalties. Wars to-day entail little of that bold plundering which of old had something about it of the fascinating color of chivalry, but has instead degenerated into a mere contemptible swindle of the unborn.

The economic waste of war has perhaps received its due consideration from those who have dealt with it more or less

competently; yet this appeal has less weight than might be supposed with the working masses—for the reason that wars call great numbers away from a congested labor market, and tend to make a temporarily increased demand for laborers. To show that the destruction of wealth must inevitably lessen the sum total of human happiness is likely to be regarded, by those to whom the prospect of immediate employment is extended by the removal of great numbers of competing workers from the field of occupations, as an amiable theory in conflict with actual conditions. The remoter effects of war, of the fearful burdens of taxation it entails, which must be paid from the sweat and blood of labor, are too far in the future to weigh greatly with the man who receives his wages by the week and doesn't look further into the future than Saturday night.

Yet, in justice to them, let it be said that workmen look with little approval upon war. Says John Burns, speaking of the Anglo-Boer war, and in behalf of eighty-three workingmen's organizations: "This is not our war; this is not a war of the English workingmen." The working classes are sometimes accused of being swayed by dangerous impulses of emotion, of being easily excited by the appeals of labor leaders urging to attacks of violence upon persons or property; yet as a matter of fact hardly any class is less excitable than the workmen, in and out of unions. At those times when the war spirit takes possession of the people it is not the workmen who lose their heads. The great industrial populations are usually the least moved—it may be from a consciousness of how little they have to gain or lose.

Wars have been fought now from religious motives, now to advance the interests of rulers, and later to promote those of traders and speculators. But there never yet was a war to advance the interests of workmen, and just as surely no war ever did. Industrialism and militarism are antagonistic. The military spirit is always on the side of reaction—always allied with the non-progressive and anti-liberal movements of the time. Militarism is the propagating source of every anti-social infection.

There are many happy signs in the heavens, mingled with some less rosy ones. Military service has grown easier, but popular distaste for it has increased. This unpopularity is very marked in England, where it has kept pace with the improvement in material conditions. Of late years recruiting has been drawn almost entirely from unskilled workmen; and it is indicative of the temper of the governing classes of Great Britain that they have regarded with favor the large immigration of foreign workmen bringing with them a lower standard of living, and thus reducing wages and tempting the English workmen to look more kindly upon military service.

It speaks well for us as a nation of 75,000,000 people that a small army of 25,000 men could for so many years be recruited only with difficulty; it also speaks well for the prosperous condition of the country, for few enlist in the army who are able to earn a living in any other way. It speaks well, too, for that wholesome prejudice with which army life is regarded—the aversion of every free man to become a machine. But we have never lacked men of soldierly qualities when needed, and we shall not lack them so long as we remain free. Such qualities the American volunteer has supplied when the occasion arose. The truth is that only in this way can the best blood of a nation be enlisted in its defense—thus, or by conscription. Men will give their life to soldiering only when required by necessity or impelled by patriotism. But enlistments in time of profound peace will not give us an army that in *morale*, efficiency, or patriotism is equal to any real emergency. As a defensive force it will not be representative of the best blood of the nation, nor of its highest aspirations. But, precisely because of this, such a force may be utilized for partizan aggrandizement—may be moved as a great, silent, unprotesting machine in favor of some radical departure from safe traditional methods. Its influence, even without positive direction, is likely to be thrown as a force in favor of reaction; and it may sap the life of republicanism and republican forms, leaving such forms destitute of the spirit that is their life. The influence of great standing armies and of the spirit that

such institutions engender has a deadening effect upon those finer sympathetic cords of the national life. Even in its less harmful aspects—its uniforms, its dress parades, its plumes and epaulets—it is a poor and distracting display, pitiful by contrast with the condition of labor that builds civilizations and asks no badges nor epaulets and gets no stripes, save those the taskmaster lays upon its great, bowed, Atlantean shoulders.

War is the only cause that makes one hate another he has never seen. In this respect war has a place all by itself as a creator of evil impulses. War, unlike a private quarrel, is the only cause that urges men (whole peoples sometimes) to exult over a fallen enemy—a meanness from which the more manly code of the prize-ring secures even a Jeffries and a Corbett. A private quarrel between neighbors, which ends in the final humiliation of one, rarely concludes with an exultant war dance by the other in the backyard of the vanquished. Nor does anybody hold that the defeat of one gives to the victorious dominion over his late enemy's cabbage-patch.

All militarism is savagery, not less so because it glitters with its helmets and moves to the rhythm of banners. War is essentially savagery in activity. All laws tending to humanize warfare are absurd and inconsistent, and every one is broken when it suits the convenience or the barbarism of the conquerors. Military laws have always been more humane than military practise. There has been some improvement, it is true, but not much. It is still lawful to put to the sword a garrison that offers a stubborn resistance, since the Brussels Conference defeated the proposition to exclude "the threat of extermination" toward a garrison that obstinately holds a fortress. Of course, this is not done nowadays, though such threats were used during the Franco-German war.

It is a theory laid down by Laveleye that in modern times wars are waged by army against army, while at former periods it was nation against nation. On the theory, therefore, that war is only a contest between men in arms, non-combatants are to be secured against all its penalties. Hence he thinks that the modern theory and practise of warfare exclude the

right of capture of peaceful merchant vessels; but this is purely fanciful. Wars are fought not only with arms but with money, and to inflict the greatest damage on your antagonist is the justification of including non-combatants among those who must be made to suffer. Laveleye's theory would render immune from capture any city or town in the enemy's country that did not offer resistance.

Of course, an invading army never takes anything but what it wants—what it does not want it leaves, like any common thief. Do not imagine that if you were a soldier in an enemy's country you would not also take what you wanted—such wants not being bounded by your immediate necessities. The contents of the larder and the jewel box are all the same—merely property, after all; and there are occasions, especially after you had sampled the wine in "your enemy's" cellar, when they would be all the same to you. Mechlin lace, Sèvres china, and the contents of the hen-coop—do not imagine that you would be able very sharply to discriminate between them. If you think you would, ask your army friend who has seen service, and he will have some stories to tell you. This is only one of the almost irreparable wrongs wrought by the usages of war upon the individual conscience.

To return to the well-meaning efforts to soften the horrors of war—efforts that cannot but excite something like derision. The Lateran Council of 1139 condemned the use of the crossbow in warfare because of its inhumanity; Innocent III. confirmed its prohibition; its use, however, continued. And the King of Prussia, during the Franco-German struggle, in accordance with Laveleye's theory, announced that he was making war "against soldiers, not against French citizens;" but this did not prevent him from levying requisitions against citizen non-combatants! When Wellington entered France he complained that "outrages of all descriptions had been committed by his troops in the presence of their officers, who took no pains to prevent them." Despite the "laws of war," all governments fear victorious generals, and have found it necessary to restrain them when marching through conquered territory.

To-day we hear tales of the misuse of the white flag by both Briton and Boer. It is safe to say that some of these stories are true. You can no more unleash the ferocious instincts of war in a man and expect that man to remain amenable to moral discipline than you can unchain a horde of hungry tigers and imagine that they will not slay and rend any helpless infant in their path. And this is the reason that modern warfare is as full of savagery as ancient warfare; or, if this seems an overstatement, why it has the same disregard of the humanities.

There is a darker picture, if that be possible, associated with this subject. So closely is war allied to murder that murder itself loses much of its infamy in a soldier's eyes. I trust I am not wronging a body of men as brave and honorable naturally as any other, and I desire not to be misunderstood; but those who have talked to soldiers know that many of them have stories to tell of unpopular officers who have been shot by their own men during engagements. No one at all familiar with army life in time of war has failed to hear rumors of this sort, told usually with amazing indifference by men not a whit less honorable than ourselves.

Advocates of "the strenuous life" defend the continuance of war as necessary for the development of the virtue of physical courage, or at all events justify war as furnishing opportunities for heroism. As well might one ask for immunity for "fire-bugs" on the ground that they furnish opportunities for heroism to members of the fire department. But one may doubt if the battlefield affords the highest examples of physical courage. The anesthetics of battle smoke and battle music induce a sort of somnambulistic state in which prodigies of valor may be performed. Even the Chinese possess a passive courage superior to that of any known race. Most of the heroism exhibited on the battlefield is of the passive sort, disguised somewhat by the activity of maneuver, the noise of cannon, and the onslaught of cavalry. There is but a small individual initiative to the great fighting mass. A French philosopher said that the art of creating soldiers was to make them more afraid of their own officers than of the enemy. To make

more certain the death that awaits them in the rear, and less certain that which awaits them in front, is to secure armies of effective fighting force.

Philippe de Segur said a man could not be a hero without an iron constitution. Such heroism, then, is largely physical—largely a matter of temperament. In the old days, when it was foot to foot, eye to eye, and hilt to hilt, this heroism had something of the picturesque about it, which is essentially lacking in modern methods of warfare.

We need a popular revision of the word "courage;" we must understand that it is of different kinds, possessed in its lowest manifestations by all animals, even the rodent. We hear now and then of "the enervating influences of peace" upon the nation; but what inspires to the highest courage in the defense of rights is not familiarity with the experiences of war—it springs from the consciousness of having rights worth defending, and dies only with the loss of liberty.

We hear of "the cankers of a calm world and a long peace." How "cancerous" Paradise must seem to the writer of that famous line! But if war has its moral uses, then is that steady progress of the race toward the humanizing spirit that constantly mitigates against war an essentially deplorable thing. The growing antagonism between war and the developed moral consciousness must be wrong if war is right. But is not an argument in favor of "the moral uses" of war all beside the mark? No nation ever made war because it regarded war as beneficial.

Now, it is the easiest thing in the world to be moved by the warlike spirit, the cry of patriotism, the girding of arms by the nation for war; but it is a more difficult, as it is a more heroic thing, to stand in opposition—to speak boldly the word of protest, if conscience be against the war. But it is this higher courage that the military spirit visits with the name of cowardice. Is there any lack of heroism in the humbler walks of life? Pick up the daily paper, and in almost any issue you can read stories that illustrate its possession in the very highest degree. We have no lack of heroes; the annals of our

fire department, our police force, our railroad service, will tell a story as full of heroic incident as any chronicle of bloody wars. But for that higher courage, of which civil life is full and militarism does so much to quench, we shall find few examples in army life. The long line of epauleted perjurers who took the stand in the Dreyfus case made a momentary lifting of the veil from a spectacle of moral stultification which the atmosphere of militarism lays upon the consciences of men.

There is another aspect of militarism which should be touched upon, and that is the incomparable meanness of the enmities of military men. History, which should tell the story, is usually reticent upon these matters. The efforts of Lee to depose Washington are seldom commented upon in popular histories. Coming down to our civil war we have the intrigues against General McClellan at Washington, the historic shame of which is somewhat mitigated by that officer's extraordinary view of his own importance, united, despite his genius as an organizer, with startling incompetency of initiative. We have Halleck pursuing Grant with extraordinary vindictiveness, and almost all the generals pursuing Butler—chiefly because that officer was not a West Pointer. Then we have the case of Fitz John Porter, and those extraordinary speeches of General Logan against Porter in the House of Representatives, which for virulence, hatred, and unrelenting ferocity are curious examples of the military spirit. Nor was the Confederacy at all behind the Union army in its animosities. We have the quarrels of Longstreet and Fitz Hugh Lee, of Secretary of War Benjamin and Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, of Generals Bragg and Polk, and the bitter attacks against Quartermaster-General Myers.

In the recent Spanish-American war we have had similar examples of fierce enmities, spiteful deprecations, and cool assumption on the part of our heroes. We all know now that the battle of Manila, though executed with thoroughness, was not the wonderful exploit it was thought to be. The Spanish vessels were greatly inferior; there were no mines, of the absence of which, it is to be inferred, our officers were quite well

informed; and our vessels were not within reach of the guns of the fort, which have been spoken of as neutralizing the inferiority of the Spanish fleet and bringing the forces opposed nearer to a point of equality. Yet not Dewey, nor a single one of his officers, put in a disclaimer to the absurd adulations of the people. No military or naval hero ever does that; he accepts all hero-worship without a protest: and he is not to be blamed, for a people capable of that kind of frenzy are likely to turn and rend him with any variation of the paroxysms, as only a few weeks later Admiral Dewey found to his cost.

Few men, however, can stand unmoved amid a spontaneous national outburst of worshipful admiration. Take even so self-centered a character as Grant. As a military chieftain he stands with Washington, almost alone and almost faultless in the calm and unmoved front he bore in face of a people intoxicated by military glory and ready to exalt him to the position almost of a dictator. A plain, simple, unassuming man, yet even he, like Achilles vulnerable in the heel, had his defenseless side, and, strangely enough, actually lacked courage to say so. His real enemies were his friends, as frequently happens, oftener to your military man than to others. For them he was willing to lay aside the safe traditions which had governed the country from its beginning, and which regarded as dangerous and subversive of republican institutions the election of a Chief Magistrate for a third term. Lacking the courage to thrust his false friends away from his side, his Administration was marked by a saturnalia of corruption. Lacking in his civil office that keenness of perception which in his military capacity had guided him so unerringly to the selection of wise and competent subordinates, he surrounded himself with such men as Babcock and Belknap. Jay Gould used him to bring about the Black Friday panic. Thus it happened that the military spirit that created a reputation destroyed it, unmaking with the one hand what it had made with the other. For without that military spirit, which had developed into hero-worship for the great Union general, he might have suspected his own civil incompetency, or—what would have re-

sulted in the same way—the people themselves would have been able to see it. Their toleration of such gross civil incapacity was due to the blindness of the military spirit. Now the unconscious cry was, "The hero can do no wrong!" as of old it was said of the king.

There is scarcely a class that has suffered more, in mental and moral deterioration, from the influence of the military spirit than the clergy, from the time of Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine, all of them apologists for war. Much of the force and effectiveness of the clergy's ministrations in the interests of a gospel of peace and brotherhood has been lost by their apparent satisfaction with the prevailing methods of settling national disputes by killing people. It has resulted in developing a strain of cowardice in the clergy, who show a moral hesitancy in applying their gospel to the supreme test. The spirit of Christianity condemns war, but the clerics yield to its influence as readily as any class. They do not even attempt to adopt as a concession to the Christian faith the "wooden literalness" of the story which tells how an Archbishop of Mainz slew nine foemen with his own hand—not with the sword, "for that would have been contrary to Christ's word to Peter," interpolates the pious chronicler, but with a club.

It often requires a more keenly discriminating vision than is given to most of us to separate the "war spirit" from "the missionary spirit." One would imagine that the ideal missionary of some of these champions of Christ was not Livingston in Africa, nor even Gordon in China, but Clive in India, or Otis in the Philippines. It is clear that the ideal missionary of Bishop Cranston, of Denver, Col., is neither Clive nor Otis, but Ghengis Khan; for the Bishop says: "It is worth any cost in money, it is worth any cost in bloodshed, if we can make the millions of Chinese true and intelligent Christians." Of the same order of pious minds is Bishop Joyce, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who says: "We should settle the Chinese trouble with guns. That seems to be the best way to Christianize these Celestials." The words of

Lord Westmoreland to the Archbishop of York, in Shakespeare's "Henry IV," suggest themselves in this connection:

"You, Lord Bishop,
Whose see is by a civil peace maintained;
Whose beard the silver hand of peace hath touched;
Whose learning and good letters peace hath tutored;
Whose white investments figure innocence,
The dove and very blessed spirit of peace—
Wherefore do you so ill translate yourself
Out of the speech of peace, that bears such grace,
Into the harsh and boisterous tongue of war?
Turning your books to graves, your ink to blood,
Your pens to lances, and your tongue divine
To a loud trumpet and a point of war?"

In this absorbing spirit of militarism that makes captive the minds of men it is your mitered Bishop who is the first to surrender all the Ten Commandments. His proselyting zeal becomes the fiercest as his murderous instincts develop (or perhaps the genesis is reversed); and as his passion for man-slaughter mounts, his eagerness for the conversion of those that survive the Krupp and Mauser takes the form of positive mania. To protest that all this is un-Christianlike is ineffectual with those to whom church organizations are a militant army for missionary conquest. Most Protestant clergymen affect to look with horror upon what they imagine is a Jesuit dictum that "the end justifies the means;" yet they apply the spirit of that injunction with a murderous logic that they do not even dare to ascribe to the fictitious disciple of Ignatius Loyola.

Think of a militant clergy—and then of Him who stood against the world and asked the aid of not one armed man in all the earth! Then think of this Christ wielding a spear or Roman short sword! Yet was not his life the highest expression of ideal courage and manhood? Did not the Roman centurion, the man of war, recognizing that his own standard of manliness was shamed by comparison with that of this heroic figure upon the cross breathing compassion for his enemies, cry impetuously?—"Surely this was the Son of God." What would the honest soul of the centurion say, were he

alive to-day, of the Bishop who urges us to make war upon the Chinese?

Military men share with the clerics this strangely distorted conception of Christian ideals. I quote from General Longstreet's "From Manasses to Appomattox": "Micah Jenkins, who fell by the same fire, was no more. He was one of the most estimable characters in the army. His taste and talent were for military service. He was a humble, noble Christian. In a moment of highest earthly hope [that is, amid the carnage of battle!] he was transferred to serenest heavenly joy. May his beautiful spirit through the mercy of God rest in *peace*," which, as his taste and talent were for military service, suggests a condition in which the warlike soul of young Jenkins will find small comfort!

To be true to conscience is the supremest manly virtue. Such virtue is impossible to a soldier. It is this that makes militarism so dangerous to a republic. For the qualities that make a good soldier are the antitheses of those that make a good citizen. Soldiers are the *Acephala* among the human species—belonging to an order having no head. How strangely perverted is the soldier's ideal of duty, which prevents him from throwing up his commission when ordered to fight in a cause that he knows to be unrighteous! But this is precisely because the soldier's ideal of courage is a low one; because he can conceive of no finer heroism than the passive kind—that merely animal sort, of which, as has been said, even the rodent has his share.

How this strangely corrupted notion of "duty" has led men to take up arms in infamous causes! Militarism makes a glory of that which is a shame, and a shame of that which is a glory. For devotion to duty is only admirable when the duty itself is admirable. I received shortly before his death a letter from General Lafayette McLaws, who fought with bravery and distinction through two wars, in which he said: "As for the war with Mexico, I have never read a reasonable defense of it, except that it was necessary to establish the principle that might makes right. The United States wanted

the Texas country, Mexico was weak and defenseless, and hence the war." Yet this able general of the Confederacy won his first brevet in that war!

Glorification of the military spirit has become common enough of late, owing to nearly a half century of immunity from its horrors. "The strenuous life" has received more than its meed of praise from the splendid savage who two years ago became governor of the great State of New York. In spite of certain admirable qualities, the Rough Rider governor is conspicuously lacking in those higher qualities which single out the man from among men. Impetuous as a Seyd of the desert, he seems to many the highest ideal of manly heroism. They have but to go back to the convention that nominated Blaine. Into that gathering our future military hero went breathing fire and fury against the candidacy of a corrupt man. It was thought that he would certainly march out of that convention along with those who had threatened to bolt in the event of Blaine's nomination; this impression the young civil service reformer had sedulously encouraged. But his manhood failed him at the critical moment, and two weeks later he was stumping the States for Blaine! Those who saw his shilly-shallying at Philadelphia must have wondered what kind of a hero our Governor is, after all!

I have spoken of Colonel Roosevelt as a "splendid savage," and I use this term advisedly. The Colonel of the Seventy-first New York is right when he says that the Rough Rider Governor furnishes one of the few instances of a soldier who, compelled to kill men in the discharge of his duty, has afterward boasted of it. This Roosevelt does in his account of the battle of San Juan, with all the indifference of a nature that loves carnage for its own sake. How different are the words of one of the bravest soldiers who ever held a sword—the peerless cavalry leader of the *Grande Armée*: "My sweetest consolation when I look back upon my career as a soldier, a general, and a king, is that I never saw a man fall dead by my hand. It is not, of course, impossible that in so many charges, when I dashed my horse forward at the head of the

squadrons, some pistol shots fired at random may have wounded or killed an enemy; but I have known nothing of the matter. If a man fell dead before me and by my hand, his image would be always present to my view, and would pursue me to the tomb." (Murat, in a letter to Count Marbourg.)

The spirit of militarism develops an unconscious hypocrisy, tending to obscure the real distinction of the rights of the weaker. We prate about "our rights" in the Philippines—"our right" to govern the Filipinos. Now it must be admitted that however little amenable men are to reason they are even less so to force. Then why not send 65,000 missionaries instead of soldiers to persuade the Filipinos that it is our "right" to govern them, and that it is right for them to yield? The only reason we do not do so is because our talk of rights in such connection is shameless cant.

Corrupting to the individual, and therefore corrupting to the nation, is the spirit of militarism at all times and everywhere. Let it rule among a people, and, however the forms of republicanism persist, the Republic itself is moribund. However institutions preserve the outward garb of democracy, the Republic is slowly shaping itself to empire and is all purple within. Militarism is the Tarpeian rock that lies ever near the Capitol; it makes and unmakes nations, molding to strange uses the arms of liberty-loving people; debauches republican ideals and makes national heroes of Bardolphs who, if possessing physical courage, are morally as pusillanimous; engenders hatreds of peoples, and upon the altars of force makes offerings of the first-born of conscience. It gives us strange notions of heroism, and blinds us to the true nobility of civic valor, in this day fallen so low, and without which we shall perish of an inward cancer, though we number our military heroes by the score; that valor which dares to face all for principle, and which has given us our Lovejoys and Garrisons, heroes of a kind who are alone worthy of the consummate flower of the world's eulogy.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

New York.

BRYAN AS A SOLDIER.

MUCH has been written about different phases of William J. Bryan's social and political life, but little has appeared touching his military life—except what has been said by his political enemies. I had the pleasure and the honor of serving on his staff for some months as adjutant, and had a splendid opportunity to become familiar with his characteristics.

Colonel Bryan possesses in a remarkable degree the essential qualities of a soldier, viz., an active mind, a strong physique, courage, bravery, and tact. These qualities, in connection with his gentlemanly and scholarly bearing, his universal kindness and magnanimity of heart, especially endeared him to the members of his regiment. If any were sick or in trouble, he visited them. It was a common sight to see him by the side of a sick soldier, either in quarters or in the hospital; in fact, not a day passed without his visits to the sick. Many a fever-stricken boy was cheered by his presence. His greatest care seemed to be for the welfare of his men. He made frequent tours of the camp for the purpose of personally inspecting its sanitary conditions, and to my personal knowledge more orders were issued concerning the health and condition of the regiment than for any other purpose.

Not only was Colonel Bryan concerned as to the physical condition of the regiment, but its moral and intellectual welfare received his thoughtful attention. His name, accompanied by a handsome cash subscription, headed the list to purchase a large tent to supplement the one used by the Y. M. C. A. Besides this substantial encouragement in the work of the organization, his presence at the meetings and participation therein had a good effect. In one of his first recommendations he urged the officers to encourage their men to invest a part of each month's pay in a good book.

No regimental commander in the Seventh Army Corps more fully exemplified the duties of a soldier, both by precept and

example, than did Colonel Bryan. He was never absent from camp except on duty demanding his attention elsewhere. He was always prompt and ready to carry into execution the orders of his superior officers. While he believed in discipline, he was not wedded to what is known as "military etiquette," and much of the "red tape" of a military existence was distasteful to him. If the humblest private in the regiment desired to speak to him upon any matter, it was not necessary to make request through "the proper military channels," but a hearing was granted without unnecessary ceremony and delay. This waiving of what he deemed "useless red tape" especially endeared the Colonel to his men. No man was ever turned away feeling that his request would not receive personal attention and consideration. This necessarily engaged much of his time, but, being resourceful and physically strong, he managed to meet the exigencies of every requirement. He possessed the happy faculty of adjusting difficulties with the least friction of any man with whom I have ever associated. I attribute his wonderful success in dealing with men and problems of daily life to the fact that every question is settled on its merits. He asks the question, "Is it right?" and settles it on that basis alone, not considering for a moment what might be temporary "policy."

Colonel Bryan was the life of the officers' mess. Every meal was made enjoyable by his presence. He had a fund of good anecdotes, and was remarkably expert in telling them. The stories he told were always illustrative of some point, and differed from the anecdotes of many in that they were scrupulously clean and free from suggestions of impurity; in fact he would not listen to any other kind of story without manifesting his disapproval, which he usually did by treating it with silent contempt.

Emergencies were met as if they had been foreseen. One incident will suffice to illustrate this. One day, while the regiment was stationed at Pablo Beach, the cry, "A man drowning!" was heard throughout the camp. In a very few seconds several hundred soldiers were at the water's edge watching the

body of a Virginia boy being slowly but surely carried out to sea by the strong undertow. No sooner did the alarm reach camp than Colonel Bryan seized a coil of rope several hundred feet in length, which he had previously bought, and with the assistance of one or two others soon had it at the scene of danger, where strong, brave swimmers took the rope and attempted to reach the unfortunate boy. The tide was too strong, however, and the poor youth was carried out to perish. His body was found two or three days after about twenty miles below. This rope was the means of saving others who were too venturesome.

A few days after this incident, while attending one of the Y. M. C. A. meetings, the leader invited any one in the audience to name a favorite song. After others had made selections, Colonel Bryan suggested that we sing "Throw Out the Life-line," which was sung with considerable feeling. To all present the song had more than ordinary significance, and made a deep impression.

Bryan is conscientious on all occasions. Many, upon entering the army, throw off much of the restraint that obtains in social life and abandon many of the home observances. Not so with the Colonel. On one occasion the owner of "The Three Friends," the celebrated boat that was suspected of being engaged in filibustering, invited Colonel Bryan and a number of other officers of different regiments to accompany a select party on a fishing expedition out to the "banks," where red snappers were to be caught in abundance. The captain of the vessel informed the officers that the boat would pass our camp at a certain hour the next morning, which was Sunday. I believe all accepted the invitation, with the exception of Bryan. He declined the invitation, remained in camp, and attended church services, as was his custom.

With Colonel Bryan there was no distinction of rank. It was the *man* inside of the uniform, rather than the insignia on the shoulder, that appealed to him.

Broad-minded, and a lover of free speech, he always listened attentively to any suggestions that his officers made, but *acted*

upon his own judgment, which seemed to be as nearly perfect as it is possible for that of man to be. While there were partizans in the regiment, no word or act of his would indicate that he thought any the less of them for unfavorable criticism. In fact, throughout his public career he has never attacked man as such. He opposes principles advocated by others, if he deems them wrong, rather than the men that advocate those principles. He fights for the right as he sees it, and, had it been decreed that the Third Nebraska should be called into active service in defending the downtrodden Cubans, Colonel Bryan would have been found in the hottest of the fight; and, so strong was the attachment of the men of his regiment for him, they would have fought to the last man to defend him. Happily no bloodshed can be charged to the regiment of which he was the proud commander.

Who knows but that he may yet be called upon to solve the problems that have arisen in connection with the results of the war with Spain? Should he be so called upon, I am one of the increasing number who believe that he could settle the difficulties—and settle them on the broad basis of human liberty.

C. F. BECK.

Lincoln, Neb.

PHILADELPHIA'S ELECTION FRAUDS.

THE phenomenal and invariably Republican majorities in the city of Philadelphia have often caused comment. Various causes have been assigned: The steadfastness of the Republican voters; the prevalence of strong party allegiance; the personal interest of the people in the maintenance of a protective tariff, etc. The real reason, however, was revealed when the former Deputy Coronér and eight co-defendants, charged in sixteen bills of indictment with ballot-box frauds, fled the country.

Prior to the November, 1899, election there had been a general agitation of the question of fraudulent voting. The Municipal League for years had maintained that the majorities given to Republican candidates had been largely fraudulent. The charges created a good-natured smile on the part of the "machine," and an incredulous smile on the part of the "good citizens." "The League means right, no doubt," they would say, "but it has been carried away by its fears and enthusiasm." Still, the League persisted, and added moral proof to moral proof, but owing to inadequate support was unable to secure the legal evidence needed to prove their charges in a court of law. The padding of assessors' lists with fraudulent names and the voting of repeaters were morally demonstrated, but to no avail, as it was impossible to get at the evidence hidden away in the vaults of the City Hall. Assessors' lists were purged in court, only to be followed by a wholesale voting on the very names stricken off.

This may seem strange to one not a Philadelphian; but it is entirely possible under the present laws and Constitution. There is a clause in the 7th section of the 8th article of the latter instrument that reads thus: "No elector shall be deprived of the privilege of voting by reason of his name not being registered." That does the business; that opens the door.

It makes no difference whether your name appears in the assessor's list or not so long as you can get some accomplice to swear that you are a qualified elector—an easy task in most districts. I recall one instance where nearly two thousand names were stricken off the lists in a single ward; yet every name was sworn in at the following election, and a few more for good measure, just by this very process.

But some one says, "Why not arrest the voucher for perjury?" First of all you must make sure of your voucher. He comes forward for the occasion and disappears like the waves of the sea, never again to be identified. But what of the board of election officers; cannot they be depended upon? No; because they are elected by the very method they help to sustain. Very frequently names only are elected, and men to fit them are supplied afterward. This is just what happened in the thirteenth division of the seventh ward last autumn.

The day after the last November election the chairman of the Republican State Committee rather contemptuously referred to the "five petty arrests" on the evening of the day before. Those "petty arrests" have shaken the machine and caused the flight from the jurisdiction of the court of one of its chief workers and eight of its tools. The story of their arrest, arraignment, and flight constitutes one of the most humiliating chapters in the municipal history of Philadelphia, and one of the most dastardly attempts to subvert the will of the people in the annals of any American city.

Step by step the whole plot has been unfolded and the most serious charges of the reformers substantiated. Three names that appeared on the assessor's list of this division in February, 1899, were placed on the ballot at that month's election and were duly declared elected. Three men to correspond to them were imported last November (1899) from Washington, where they held political positions under the Federal Government, thanks to the influence of the machine. Assuming these names, they went to the house of Samuel Salter, the "boss" of the division and a member of the legislature and subsequent Deputy Coroner, and were given the necessary election paraphernalia,

which he had previously secured from the complaisant County Commissioners, although the law explicitly required that it be delivered to the judge. At the time the blank ballots were given to these impersonators they were given two hundred ballots already marked, with instructions to place them in the ballot box. This was done, and the people of this division started in to express their electoral wishes handicapped by two hundred fraudulent ballots.

The sequence of events thus far is: 1. Padded assessors' lists. 2. Imported, subservient tools filling the places of the names fraudulently on the list. 3. Stuffing the ballot box.

The next step, under ordinary circumstances, would have been at the approaching February election to choose an assessor who would repeat the padding; and how easy this would be under such a system is obvious. From the padded names, three would again be taken and placed on the ballot, and so on through the remaining steps. This could have been continued uninterruptedly if there had been no break from the inside; but, thanks to the enterprise and ingenuity of *The North American*, a man was secured who had gained admittance to the circle and became a part of it, and when he became possessed of all the secrets gave the needed information that led to one of the most sensational exposures of recent years.

George Kirkland was brought to the city by the machine and given the name of Clarence Boyd, under which to serve. He was present when Salter gave his (Kirkland's) two colleagues the marked ballots, and during the day served as an election inspector under the assumed name, which was given to him on a slip of paper by Salter, and signed all the necessary papers, taking the precaution to mark them all with a "K." I mention this to answer the suggestion made by some that Kirkland weakened after he was caught and turned State's evidence; but while it is possible that he might have attached the "K" to the tally-sheets, etc., without any thought of giving subsequent testimony, it is hardly probable.

The men were arrested on warrants sworn out by a reporter, and at the hearing before the committing magistrate Kirkland

told the whole story. Nine men in all were implicated, including Salter, who had been a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature at the session of 1899 and had steadily voted for Quay and who resigned to become Deputy Coroner; a messenger in the Congressional Library, a lieutenant of the Capitol police, and several lesser lights.

When the cases came within the jurisdiction of the District Attorney, every precaution was taken. The ballot box was removed from its usual resting-place in the vaults of the City Hall, and by order of court deposited with its clerk for safekeeping free from tampering. Then District Attorney Rothermel proceeded to take a move that spread more consternation in the ranks of the corruptionists and has done more to clear the atmosphere and produce a feeling of security on the part of the city's well-wishers than any that has been taken for years;—he petitioned the Court to open the ballot box! This was almost unprecedented. "What! violate the sanctity of the ballot box?" the ringster cried. "What will become of free government if you destroy the secrecy of the ballot?" In 1897, just after a bill I had introduced providing for the opening of the ballot boxes under certain circumstances had been defeated, one member cried: "When closed on the night of election a ballot box should never be opened; a closed ballot box tells no stories!" This clearly stated the position of the ring and explains why the discovery of frauds has been so difficult.

District Attorney Rothermel believed the Court and jury should have the best obtainable evidence—to wit, the ballots themselves—and that the secrecy of the ballot should be maintained only so long as it did not serve as a cloak of crime, and he asked the Court for permission to open the boxes; and there was a judge on the Bench, the Hon. Thomas K. Finletter, courageous enough to take the same view, and he signed the order and at the same time practically signed the conviction of the nine defendants and inaugurated an era of better government.

The opening of the boxes and the counting of the vote in

accordance with the order of court was awaited with interest. Would it substantiate Kirkland's tale of wrong-doing or make him out a sensation-monger? He had testified that two hundred ballots numbered from 100 to 300 inclusive had been placed in the box by Salter, who had ordered him and his fellow-election officers to begin running them in when eighty-five regular votes had been cast. When the box was opened and the numbers of the ballots disclosed, it was found that the first eighty-five ballots were scattering. From voter No. 87 to voter No. 100, the names of all the voters began with B, and all but three were straight Republican, without a break, the names of the voters following in alphabetical order. There was one batch of 186 straight Republican tickets; 92 straight Republican except that one of the Republican candidates for County Commissioner was cut, and Ryan—the minority candidate, who was in some danger of defeat from the Municipal League candidate—given the votes. Then there was another bunch of 43 ballots on which the names of Ryan, Mestrezat, and Reilly, Democratic candidates, were so voted as to prevent their Republican opponents, who were being cut, from running behind in a strong machine district. The independent voter could not be controlled, but his vote could be offset; and this was done.

The charge was made that there had been a deal between the Quay Republicans and the Democratic machine by which the candidate of the latter for County Commissioner was to be elected over the Municipal League candidate for the minority place—a charge that the figures throughout the city and especially in this division amply substantiated.

The disclosures of Kirkland and the ballot box completed the evidence and wove a tight web around the defendants. As one reporter said, "Throughout the investigation evidence has piled up letter upon letter, syllable upon syllable, word upon word, each fresh addition to the testimony bringing accumulated force to the charges of flagrant fraud in the late election in Philadelphia." Their only alternative was either to plead guilty and undergo punishment or to confess their guilt by

flight. The latter course was adopted, and when they were called in court to plead on January 8 they failed to respond to their names and their bail was declared forfeited.

Another set of election officers hailing from the twelfth division of the fifth ward were indicted shortly after. As in the seventh ward case, the court ordered the ballot box to be opened upon petition of the District Attorney. The totals in this division form interesting reading and corroborate the charge that there was a deal between the Republican and Democratic machines. The vote was:

For State Treasurer.

Barnett, Republican, received 247 votes.	
Creasy, Democrat, " 4 "	

For Sheriff.

Hartman, Republican, received 248 votes.	
Reed, Democrat, " 3 "	

For County Commissioner.

Wildemore, Republican, received 248 votes.	
Black, " " 82 "	
Ryan, Democrat, " 169 "	

What a remarkable showing on the face of the returns—166 Republicans cut Black and voted for Ryan and not one Republican cut Wildemore! When the box was opened it was discovered that Ryan's Republican friends had a habit of voting in regular sequence for him. For instance, Republican voters Nos. 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, and 114 cut Black for Ryan; likewise Nos. 117 to 136, Nos. 138 to 150, Nos. 154 to 159, Nos. 182 to 190, and so on throughout the entire list.

I might produce additional evidence in both of these cases proving the grossest frauds upon the franchise. I might cite numerous cases bearing the earmarks of fraud. I might refer to the two repeaters sentenced within a year, one of whom confessed to having voted thirty-eight times in the November, 1898, election and another to thirty-three times at the same election; but all to the same effect. And yet the chairman of the Republican State Committee had the temerity to speak sneeringly of the charges of the reformers, and the Governor of the State had the effrontery to assume the power and veto

a proposed constitutional amendment intended to prepare the way for much needed reform in our registration system! This attempt of the Governor, however, has just been rebuked by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, which has affirmed every point raised by the Municipal League of Philadelphia and overruled every point raised by the Governor and his Secretary of the Commonwealth.

In 1897 the proposed amendment in question was prepared by the counsel of the League in consultation with some of the best-equipped lawyers of the city. He introduced it in the Legislature of 1897, but it was defeated. He reintroduced it in 1899, and this time succeeded in passing it. In fact it was the only reform measure passed at that session; but the Governor interfered and arrogated to himself the right to veto it, though the Constitution of the State gave him no such right. Steps were at once taken by the Municipal League to test the right of the Governor to veto such proposals. Despite numerous obstacles and the most exasperating delays, the case was brought into the County Court, where the decision was adverse to the League's contention. An appeal, however, was taken to the Supreme Court, which has just handed down an opinion overruling the lower court and the Governor and sustaining the League at every point. This is justly regarded as a great victory for ballot reform, although the work is by no means completed. The proposed amendments must be repassed by the next legislature and then submitted to a vote of the people; but a long step forward has been taken. The fight from now on will be to elect legislators who will be favorable to the amendments.

As illustrating the work that the Municipal League has been doing in behalf of pure elections, I may quote from a recent report of the League's counsel to the board of managers. It refers solely to cases growing out of the last municipal election. In the first case a warrant for a repeater and his voucher was issued, but both defendants fled and are now fugitives from justice. In another case a judge of election has been indicted for accepting challenged votes without the prescribed

vouchers and for permitting a city magistrate, a worker about the polls who was also the "boss" of the division, to mark the ballots of thirty-four voters without being requested by the voter and without in anywise complying with the law. In the third case, the members of the board of election officers were bound over for serving illegally, not one being legally entitled to serve; while in another case the judge of election has been indicted for refusing to permit a regularly elected officer to serve. In another division warrants were issued for a board for receiving illegal votes. There were 146 legal votes cast in this division, and 217 voters were returned. The judge and two inspectors are now fugitives, as also one of the repeaters; one of the latter, however, has already been indicted. In still another division, three of the officers have been bound over to answer a charge of misdemeanor—a canvass of the division showing 79 votes for one candidate who was given but 51, and but 30 votes for one credited with 60.

The League has warrants ready for other cases, one of which involves a full exposure of the system of "repeating." Another case now before the court involves the disposition of the lists of voters. Under the Act of 1839, the clerks of election are required to prepare lists of those voting in each division, one list to be placed in the ballot box and another sent to the Prothonotary's office for the inspection of the public. In 1892 (midway between the two sessions of the legislature) the county commissioners of Philadelphia discontinued the practise of having clerks of election make and file lists in the Prothonotary's office; and since then there has been no check on repeating, as the lists are locked up in the ballot box. The League has undertaken to have this policy condemned by the Court, and accordingly has brought a series of cases raising the various points at issue. If it succeed it will enable independent bodies to enter future campaigns with an assurance that they will be able to detect some of the crimes now hidden from view in the ballot boxes in the vaults of the City Hall.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

Philadelphia, Pa.

THE FUTILITY OF ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION.

THE present national campaign, true to precedent, has called into being a new issue. As a rule, campaign issues in the past have been little else than crucibles for making party thunder. The sympathies of the people are aroused in behalf of some particular class that they are led to believe have been unjustly dealt with. The injustice is always attributed to the political party in power. In some instances the so-called landslide is the result. Thousands vote for reform. The reform party is placed in power. What follows? A literal living up to the promises made at the nominating convention? By no means. The thinking voter is left to form the conclusion that, after all, the promises of the modern politician are very often lightly made.

People are slow to learn that laws promulgated to change born tendencies in men are in nine cases out of ten the laws evaded. The idea that legislation can be used as a sort of lubricant for diminishing the friction between man and man is a tenacious heresy.

The fact that one of our leading political parties has seized upon the Trust as an issue is not significant. Politics is a science, and the skilled politician knows that he must outline his position from a study of the times. He studies sectional dissatisfaction as an entomologist studies a rare bug. He goes among the malcontents like a ministering angel. He tells them of the enormity of their wrongs, and how he, and other leaders in his party, have pledged themselves to wipe out those wrongs. He emphasizes the fact that the people are in no way responsible for their condition. Misrule, he says, is the instigator of the evil, and the only way to secure their rights is through the ballot. And his audience believe him with the credulity of little children.

The present attitude of the trusts justly fills the mind of the true American with consternation. If the wholesale destruc-

tion of free competition is allowed to continue, every producer between the trust and the trust employee will be obliterated. This means more than that. This middle-class producer, as he may be called, will be simply reduced to the ranks of the trust employee. It is well known that the trust has as its secondary object the concentration of industry. The fact that such concentration reduces the amount of labor required in the production of a given commodity to a minimum is also well known. When this twofold character is considered, people of average intelligence ought not to require the aid of a text-writer in economics to point out the final result. The reduction in the quantity of labor required will be met with an increased number of laborers. Apply the law of demand and supply, and what have we? A reduced wage scale is the natural outcome.

Of course, the trust has been extended only to a part of American industries. The danger pointed out in the preceding paragraphs in general may be said to be in its infancy. However, the symptoms are clearly defined, and only minds addicted to the most palpable folly will deny the urgent need of prompt action. The tobacco industry may be taken as an example. Here we have the trust idea practically in a completed state. Many of the factories that were absorbed by the American Tobacco Company are now closed. The labor employed by these factories has been thrown out of employment, not because the consumption of tobacco is decreasing but because the absence of competition makes it possible for the American Tobacco Company to maintain only those factories that can be operated at the minimum expense. Other trust corporations might be cited, but the question is so plain that one, to understand it, has only to direct his mind to the conditions surrounding him; therefore, we will refrain from asserting self-evident facts.

When the present power of the trust is viewed in the knowledge of the fact that that species of industrial energy is still in the formative state, an ominous shadow falls across the future of the wage-worker and the independent manufacturer.

Total extinction confronts the latter, while the former must struggle under the demoralizing effects of a diminishing wage scale and complete subjugation to the employer. This will be the end. Theorists may cry: "Let things alone; matters are bound to readjust themselves;" but their words, however consoling, are false, because the inference giving rise to them is drawn from the contemplation of an ideal society. Such a society cannot *be* without ideal *men*. Perhaps the nearest approach the world has ever seen to such a society is to be found in Christ and his twelve followers. But even then the selfishness of Judas made perfection impossible. Therefore, upon whom devolves the duty of curing this hideous ulcer? Upon those whose flesh is burned by its virus.

A few years ago one of our leading ministers preached a sermon in which he said no end whatsoever could justify a man in arraying class against class. It does not seem to the writer that this statement is even generally true. Going back over the numerous governmental reforms and revolutions that have taken place during the past three or four hundred years, how many cases do we find free from class hatred? Did the leaders against the English barons do wrong in arraying their followers against the oppression? It is hardly possible that the reverend gentleman would maintain that these men ought to have loved their enemies as themselves, or that the end did not justify the means.

The trust is not the fruit of Republican legislation, as some would have us believe. It is the child of human selfishness.? This trait has never been a characteristic by which a man's political affiliations might be determined. Men have recognized the advantage of combination in industry, and have put the same into effect. Democracy can do nothing, at least not in a legislative way, that will prevent such combination. Those opposed to the trust principle in industry must get over the delusion that the legislative and judicial departments of the government are able to do for them those things which they refuse to do for themselves.

In nearly all jurisdictions the courts hold that it is against

public policy for any individual or combination of individuals, corporation or combination of corporations, to stifle honest competition in the production of any necessary for the purpose of raising the price of the same. It is difficult to see how the courts can be expected to go beyond this. Their decisions surely cannot make those things necessities which are in fact not necessities at all. And to carry their protection to every branch of industry would be the direct means of degrading them from their present high position. They can say that one man must not enrich himself at the peril of another man's life, but they are not at liberty to say that they will, by their mandates, prevent one individual or class of individuals from outstripping others in every race for wealth. Such an attitude would be an insult to thinking men and women. Courts and statutes can protect a citizen in many ways, but it is not their province to ruin him by encouraging him in his indolence.

"Do it yourself" is a motto worthy of the wisest of philosophers. The pity is that so few understand the real meaning of these three words. It seems that modern society is bringing up its members in the detestable habit of delegating every task requiring the slightest effort. Indolence of this character is new to American manhood. Had it always existed we would still be a part of the British Empire. Perhaps the cause is to be looked for in our habits. It may be the result of our great activity. Again, we may have made the statement too broadly. At all events the tendency mentioned is present among us. It can be seen in our attitude toward the anti-trust advocate. How eagerly we rush to his side, proclaiming a faith in his promises that he himself does not feel!

"What?" some one asks; "are we and our children and our children's children without redress? If both the courts and the legislature are powerless to relieve us from the growing burden of the trust, we are hopeless slaves; we have no other sources of relief." Be of good cheer; your wrongs need not be borne unless you yourselves so will it. The means of deliverance lies in your own hands. It is for you to say whether or not such means shall be exercised; for without your permis-

sion the strongest trust must cease to be. Your desires, your appetites, your love of show, your cultivated tastes, and above all your debased thoughtlessness, are the springs from which all trusts draw their life's blood.

An absolute guaranty that each citizen shall be allowed the lawful exercise of personal choice is an indispensable attitude to every government claiming to be the representative of freedom. This right is so completely the citizen's own that no power within the State can take it away from him. The instant he is deprived of it the State loses its character of freedom and lapses into anarchy or becomes a despotism. By means of this birthright, this constitutional pledge, and not through the promises of the anti-trust candidate, you are to break the power of monopolistic corporations. Go into the market with eyes and senses open. Do not let that little difference in price tempt you; for it is always through such a reduction that these institutions deceive the consumer. They sell low to-day that they may be able to sell at a much higher figure to-morrow, or next week, or next year. The small merchant is the first victim; you are the next. The only difference between you and the independent dealer is, that from him the amount taken is limited, while with you the robbery is never ending. He is forced out of business; but you are the consumer, and must have the commodities. You are enraged; you find it impossible to utter half a dozen sentences without drifting into a denunciation of the trust evil. It never occurs to you that the crime of those hard-hearted capitalists has simply been to embrace the opportunities your own hardness of heart has made possible.

Every man and woman who are, or are likely to be, affected by the trusts owe to themselves and to each other an imperative duty. This duty is, briefly stated, immediately to discontinue the use of every article produced at the hands of such firms. This may mean a painful task in a great number of instances; it may mean privation. But what of that? Self-denial is one of the noblest of human virtues; without self-restraint lasting progress is impossible. Therefore, let those anti-trust in

theory be anti-trust in practise. If an article of whatever description is needed make it an unvarying practise first to ascertain the producer; and if such producer is found to be a recognized trust or a corporation with trust tendencies peremptorily refuse to purchase the same. If you are unable to find the desired article produced outside of a trust, then your duty is to look for a substitute if it is something that cannot very well be dispensed with. Bring your children up in this. Never mind about your neighbor's politics, but call his attention to plain facts. The truth is always convincing when presented free from abstraction.

In this way only can trusts be abolished. The optimistic sociologist imagines he is able to discern an upward trend in the moral tone of society. Perhaps he does; at any rate, it is not our present purpose to quarrel with him. Allowing all that the most sanguine can hope for in this respect, the hour is too late and the danger too imminent to wait for the maturity of a reform of so slow growth. The axe must be applied immediately. The consumer has the weapon in his own hands, and can deal a fatal blow at the very roots of the evil.

It must be confessed that what has been said sounds very much like a boycott. But upon a closer examination it will be seen that the disagreeable features of the boycott are absent. A boycott is invariably the outcome of a dispute between organized labor and the employer. The motive is often mere revenge. It is seldom, if ever, used to defeat the exorbitant demands of the manufacturer. A strike is declared; the demands are refused; then as a final measure a boycott is proclaimed and hundreds are asked to join in the discrimination against the offender. It may be that of those only a few can feel themselves in sympathy with the course adopted. If the employer comes to time the boycott is lifted, and once more labor and capital drift along harmoniously. The ostracized commodity is again purchased. Now, what has been effected—what lasting victory won? Our answer is in the negative, for the reason that those responsible were looking only to the success of their demands. They did not wish to

destroy their opponent—far from it; they were willing to compromise if a compromise would avail them aught.

Now, a general discrimination against trust products is based, not upon a specific grievance existing between labor and capital but upon the substantial liberties of the people at large. No compromise is sought, nor should one be considered. To advocate such a discrimination cannot be traced to selfish motives. The trusts are opposed, not in a spirit of blind hatred but from a sense of fear and duty. The ignorant as well as the educated now clearly see what the domination of the trust means. There is little excuse for either objecting to so strenuous a measure. It is not a boycott in the ordinary meaning of that term. Those of tender conscience need not fear to take part. No moral law is to be violated. The strongest lover of peace will not be heard to say that the other cheek should be turned.

Men are generally what circumstances have made them. The fact that certain men are at the head of trusts is not sufficient grounds to adjudge them scoundrels. Thousands of others are not trust magnates for the strong reason that circumstances have never put such opportunities within their reach. Often we find among this class philanthropists of the highest type. They are ready to contribute to every benevolent enterprise, and perhaps have come to look upon the sources of their wealth as mere incidents to their skill and enterprise, probably bothering themselves little about the moral side of the question, and, while law-abiding, yet apply but a single test to the business *régime*, namely: success.

However, admiration for the personal qualities of the trust organizer does not change the character of the trust. A church founded here, or a university founded there, must not be allowed to come between the people and their duty. The wolf is alive and waxing fat. Let each do his or her duty, resting in the determination that, within the time measured by a few years, we shall see this enemy of modern industry lashing his gaunt sides in the throes of death. A. G. WALL.

Rochester, N. Y.

THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS.

IT is popularly said of late that the Indian cannot "for several generations" compete in the intellectual world, but that he is destined for an indefinite period to remain a keeper of flocks and herds, a tiller of the soil, or at the best a humble artisan. This was the burden of the remarks of two or three of the more prominent speakers at Charleston, S. C., where the Indian Service Institute was recently held in connection with the N. E. A.; and it doubtless appeals to many minds as a plausible theory, tending to show the general uselessness and impracticability of the "higher education," at any rate in connection with the members of an "inferior race."

Let us examine into the logic and justice of this idea. Since culture or any acquired trait, according to the highest scientific authorities and the widest practical observation, is not transmissible from father to son, it matters not in reality whether the red man have "several generations" of educated progenitors behind him. Many of our foremost Americans were born of illiterate parents; some of the greatest of them all, as we take a certain pride in recalling, were practically self-educated, and lived in early youth under conditions of almost as primitive simplicity as those that once surrounded the children of the forest. More than this, it is commonly reasoned that these very conditions favor the development of original gifts and the stern virtues of character; and we are told that the scions of wealthy and cultured families tend constantly to degenerate, while out of poverty and rude surroundings spring the hardy giants of the race.

As a matter of fact, probably the ablest and most cultivated men and women of native stock have risen direct from the wigwam to the pulpit and rostrum, and entered without delay into the common inheritance of mankind. A considerable list could be produced in evidence, from the name of Samson Occum, the famous "Indian of Mohegan," down to those of men of the present day who were trained in childhood to the warpath and the chase, and who, although beginning their

formal education no earlier than fifteen years of age, yet contrived in another fifteen years or so to stand upon an equal footing with their Anglo-Saxon contemporaries.

The representative Indian is a man of brains and ambition. He has no notion whatever of remaining "for several generations" in the ranks of the toilers, and the vocation of such a man should be determined solely by individual fitness and choice. It is fairly certain that his race will never be a race of servants. Their gifts and their traditions as a people lie in quite another direction.

It is safe to say that the graduates of the government Indian schools do not fairly represent the possibilities of their race. The oldest of these schools have not been in operation long enough to test the quality of their alumni; their pupils are mainly drawn from the more or less degenerate class of "agency Indians"; their associations in school are almost wholly among themselves; and it will be found, I think, that nearly all Indians who have thus far attained distinction were educated in other than Indian schools. Nevertheless, the record of former pupils of Hampton and Carlisle, both of which place great emphasis upon manual and industrial training, will show a remarkably large proportion of brain-workers. At Hampton, where the record has been kept with especial care, the last report gives 118 at work as teachers, clerks, missionaries, doctors, lawyers, artists, and in other distinctively intellectual callings, to 197 farmers, herders, and mechanics. It must be remembered that but a small proportion of these are graduates, and that the standard of graduation is only about equal to the intermediate grade in our common schools. Of course there are some who have taken higher courses elsewhere.

It would be quite absurd to argue from all this that the Indian is "above" manual labor, or that he will not or cannot live by it if necessary. It has generally been found to be necessary for a large proportion of mankind, and our red brother cannot expect that an exception will be made in his favor. Neither is he to be diverted from obvious facts by fine speeches about the "dignity of labor." It is perfectly clear to everybody, in-

cluding those who flatter the workingman with fair words, that the comforts and refinements of our civilization, the higher pleasures of art, literature, and travel, the society of cultivated men and women—all that the world calls success and honor—are the rewards of *mind*, not of muscle. Enough for him that lives by the plow if he can satisfy his hunger upon coarse fare, and his soul with the consciousness of duty done!

Brain is king. All payment, in this era of the world's progress, is in proportion to skill and knowledge, even in those pursuits which depend primarily upon the exercise of muscular power. A farmer, for example, who has mastered the science of agriculture, and is able to confine his work to planning and supervising the actual operations of the farm, is no longer a manual laborer but a professional man, and enjoys a corresponding gain in money and consideration.

It follows that all who recognize within themselves the germs of power, and are able to unlock the door of opportunity, aspire to cultivate their wits rather than to develop their legs and arms, believing that in no other way can they make the most of life. Is there not evidence of an unworthy feeling of caste on the part of those who would undertake to impose upon our young Indian-Americans an arbitrary code of limitations, to discourage them from entering the higher vocations on the ground of hereditary incapacity, and to confine their education to the merest rudiments?

Let improvement in the government Indian schools be in the direction of more efficient instruction in the industrial departments, giving to work of all kinds its full value as education; and heaven forbid that these rising young Americans be taught to look upon themselves as an inferior class, set apart by Nature and heredity to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the "superior" race!

One successful physician, or lawyer, or minister, or artist, or author, or educator, or statesman of Indian descent is worth a thousand day-laborers as a practical demonstration of the equality of the races.

ELAINE GOODALE EASTMAN.

Carlisle, Pa.

THE ARTISTIC IMPULSE IN MAN AND WOMAN.

ART in which music, painting, poetry, sculpture—all of its manifestations—appear is but an effect springing from a single cause or impulse. All are but results radiating from an eternal center.

The history of art is closely associated with the fact of sex. Art has masculine emotions, representing the katabolic, militant spirit of man. Historical paintings and epic poems contain this motive. The connection between art and love, which reveals itself even in the song of a bird, continues to subsist in human art. The theme of all lyrics is love. The artistic impulse is but the biologic fact that the katabolic male seeks the anabolic female. It is the affinity of *Romeo* and *Juliet*—of prosaic Jack and Jill. The pictures of those artists that appeal to us are amatory instincts developed.

Since woman is by nature or cultivation passive, she possesses to a less degree than man the creative art. In regard to the inability of woman to create there seems to be no difference of opinion. Leaving the interpretative arts out of the question, one must confess that the artistic impulse in man is more spontaneous, more widespread and pronounced, than in woman. Freedom of expression has been more restricted among women; hence, freedom of impression has taken its place.

Human beings tend to reproduce. The creative impulse, the desire to express inner thought, is the characteristic of both sexes; but the power of repression has been cultivated in the female and the ability for expression in the male. Woman, because she has been denied free productive expression, has confined her creative skill to the restricted level of personal service; whereas in man the sexual instinct overflows in all channels. Early in the development of species, Nature established two sexes in separate organisms; and these differentiations were to the advantage not alone of the individual, but of

the artistic and intellectual impulse. Among birds, esthetic taste is earliest displayed by the male. Song, which may be considered their intellectual activity, is the monopoly of the male. The male bird constructs the larger part of the nest in which the young are to be reared.

If we go back to early times we may be sure that the rough drawings of men and animals and other objects found on primitive implements and rocks were the work of man. Primitive woman, however, in the maternal desire to serve her young, began the first of arts or crafts. While the male savage was a fighter, expressing masculine energy or katabolic force, the female worked out the personal, conserving force of feminine energy; but, after this artistic impulse passed beyond the rudiments, we find it in the hands of the men. Among the Indians of Canada, tattooing is done by women, who introduce charcoal under the skin. The making of pottery is also largely in the hands of Indian women; but when we come to the higher stages of culture the supremacy of man is unquestioned. Galton found, in investigating over nine hundred individuals, that the sexes were nearly equal in minor artistic taste. Even in the matter of cooking, as a rule, it becomes a man's business when it reaches an art. This again is due to man's reaching-out process and woman's restricted impulses.

Schopenhauer describes woman as the "unesthetic sex," but if this is so it is due to her sexual coldness and to lesser opportunities than are afforded men. On the other hand, we find in woman a lively appreciation and inventive faculty where mere prettiness and not strength is concerned. The manufacture of wall-paper and silk hangings is almost entirely in female hands. House decoration, too, is an art reserved for women. There can be no doubt that women are superior to men in epistolary style. This may be largely due to their finding life and movement in little things. The adornment of the person is nowadays almost exclusively a feminine art; Renan calls it an "exquisite art." In still another attainment women hold undisputed sway. In the art of conversation

woman has been a queen from the time of the Greeks down to Madame de Staël and the present. Conversation is woman's eloquence.

So far as music is a matter of the emotions, woman is much more sensitive to it than man: she absorbs it. She has accomplished great results because she has done so much for the art, and her influence has given support to composers. The emotional mind of the one sex has acted on the colder mind of the other. As an interpreter of music in song, woman excels. All the elements that woman has in her complex nature—love, sensitiveness, religion—combine to perfect her song, which is the first sound a child hears. A list of forty-eight women musicians has been compiled, all of whom lived during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries; but in spite of these statistics there is no art to which women have been so widely attracted and in which they have been so helpless to create success. The players of music among civilized races have been women; the makers, men. Woman has never invented any well-known musical instruments. Rubenstein wrote: "The two things most peculiar to women, love of a man and tender feeling for a child, have found no echo from them in music. I know no love duo or cradle song of artistic value composed by a woman." And again: "Woman, the noblest, most refined, most soulful, lacks in musical creation, which must combine all these qualities." The ability to limit emotions to the rigid law of harmony does not seem the province of the female.

On the other hand, her sexual nature, restrained by every law, has acted as a stimulus upon the free agent, man; and we see this most forcibly in the art of music. While a man that has learned to play upon an instrument rarely ceases to delight in it, the intense love of woman for music often ceases with age. This may be due to the emotional rather than the esthetic impulse. The mattoid, or crank, whose whole life is devoted to the pursuit of some eccentric whim, is seldom a woman. Among geniuses—so-called congenital forms of mental abnormality—there are more men than women. Idiocy

is of the same general tendency. Woman is more in harmony with Nature than is man. Precocity and genius frequently go together. Of musicians whose biographies were examined by Sully, ninety-five per cent. gave promise before twenty years of age. Handel wrote a mass at thirteen, and Beethoven a sonata at the same age. It is difficult to recall examples of women who have fought their way to perfection like Wagner; a woman craves sympathy, and she lacks, from years of repression, independence.

It has frequently been remarked that women are better readers than men. This may be due to their correct ear and quick perception of what they read. On the psychic side we see woman's conservative nature more inclined than man's to preserve ancient customs. Astrology is now chiefly supported by women. In Russia, spells and primitive methods of looking into the future are in the hands of women, who have a recognized position as soothsayers. In religious development the same repressive power has held women back. In early times woman was the sharer in the mysteries and rites; but as religion developed her place receded. As years went on, woman, strongly drawn to religion, did almost nothing to give expression to it. The manuals of devotion, which are essentially the same, are written by men and widely read by women. Lombroso, on the other hand, points out that the mortuary epigraphs found in the catacombs of Rome show that forty per cent. of them were of women. Two of the greatest festivals of the Catholic Church—the Feast of Corpus Christi and the Feast of the Sacred Heart—had their origin in the illumination of unlearned women.

Ladies' philosophers seem to be Schopenhauer, Epictetus, and Plato—from which one would infer that women are attracted to abstract thinkers as well as to religious expounders. Ferrero calls attention to the fact that among the Greeks thirty-four women distinguished themselves in the Pythagorean school of philosophy, and one among the cynics. This is due, he thinks, to the Pythagorean school being a sort of "company of Jesus appealing to the emotions."

In imitative art, women succeed much better than men. If we look back to the history of the stage we see more famous actresses than actors. This emotional explosiveness is largely due to this same repression of sex and social compunction that puts women by their very natures in the position of actors. Great actresses in a way express their own natures. France can show no male rival of Sarah Bernhardt. In the art of dancing, women excel; and powerful and sagacious queens the world has seen in plenty, from the Queen of Sheba down to the present. In Jane Austin, Charlotte Bronté, and George Eliot, we possess three story-tellers who for artistic production are equal to male novelists. Women have done well in fiction because they have supplied the emotional as well as the intellectual. A woman's book is worth more in detail. Her mind is more concrete, the man's more abstract. The quick perception of character necessary for a novel is natural to all women. In poetry women have done much. We have a Sappho, a Christina Rossetti; and emotional poetic energy is in English best represented by Mrs. Browning. Every one will have to admit, however, that women's poetry is apt to lack virility. Woman's passive, anabolic nature again shows itself, and strong development has proceeded along the male line. Mr. Edmund Gosse has remarked in regard to the place women occupy in the poetic literature of the world: "That Shakespeare should have had no female rival; that the age in which music burdened every bough, and in which poets made their appearance in hundreds, should have produced not a single solitary poetess, even of the fifth rank—this is curious indeed." And writing of Sappho, he declared: "She is the type of woman poet who exists, not by reason of the variety or volume of her work, but by virtue of its intensity, its individuality, its artistic perfection."

In the exact sciences Mrs. Somerville and Charlotte Herschel have gained applause; in political economy, Miss Martineau; in politics, Madame Roland. Joining these facts with the consideration that women have been placed at a disadvantage in every department of learning; that for ages she has been

taught to repress the mainspring of all creative ability; that she is less often than men exposed to the necessity of earning a livelihood—we find women have achieved much in spite of the drawbacks of Nature and society. In sculpture the great names are mostly those of men. There have been a few women, however, whose names deserve mention; Harriet Hosmer, for instance, has made the marble live with a man's force and skill.

There are few women whose names would occur to one in making out a list of the great artists of the world. Women have lacked the masculine emotions necessary for the production of great paintings. Rosa Bonheur is perhaps the only woman who was man's equal upon canvas. China painting and decorative art in general are the specialty of woman, who excels in the minor, personal artistic impulses, and in this way gives vent to her restricted life. Even the idea of maternity—the Madonna and Child—has found expression at the hands of men.

Woman has inherited from endless generations this anabolic tendency. Social conditions have caused it, and still tend to foster it. This has hampered her in giving the creative impulse room to spread in all channels, as man has been enabled to do. Galton presents interesting data upon the artistic faculty. Prefacing his remarks with the statement that the artistic impulse is inherited, he divides his data into classes: the first for music alone, the second for drawing, and the fourth for minor artistic impulses. It is, however, hard to reach definite results, for psychology is yet in its infancy. The male and female come together through sexual attraction, and the chances of artistic life are increased through this association. A large part of the joy that men and women find in each other's society is rooted in this sexual difference and variability. If woman has been restricted in her creative ability, she has caused human development to proceed in the male line by influencing man with her concealed, suppressed energy.

E. A. RANDALL.

Minneapolis, Minn.

STATUS OF THE MODERN HEBREW.

I. THE SECRET OF HIS IMMORTALITY.

THE genial and brilliant humorist, Mark Twain, thus finishes his essay, "Concerning the Jews": "The Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Persian, rose, filled the planet with sound and splendor, then faded to dream-stuff and passed away; the Greek and Roman followed and made a vast noise, and they are gone; other peoples have sprung up and held their torch high for a time, but it burned out, and they sit in twilight now or have vanished. The Jew saw them, beat them all, and he is now what he always was, exhibiting no decadence, no infirmities of age, no weakening of his powers, no slowing of his energies, no dulling of his alert and aggressive mind. All things are mortal but the Jew; all other forces pass, but he remains. What is the secret of his immortality?"

In discussing that subject, the humorist analyzes with keen insight the Jew's good qualities as well as his alleged faults, and arrives at a very favorable conclusion. The writer gropes a little deeper and endeavors to disclose some of the reasons for the world's prejudice against the Jew; and yet he ends with a query,—What is the secret of his immortality?—without realizing that he had answered the question already.

This problem is particularly interesting at present. The nineteenth century is breathing its last; nineteen hundred years mark the periods of Israel's continued suffering—nearly two thousand years of incessant blows at the mighty trunk of Judea; nearly twoscore hundreds of winters and summers were added to the life of the vagrant race—and Israel, the oldest, the feeblest, survives. Neither the sword nor the faggots of the stake, neither the knout nor the pen, could annihilate him; he lives under all predicaments and trying circumstances; he

outlives his persecutors, and shouts of defiance, as it were, reecho again and again throughout all lands and continents. He laughs the world to scorn, and you can almost hear him murmur, "I am eternal, everlasting; my name is Israel." What is the secret of it? Where has the Jew secured this *aqua vitae*? Is it a miracle? Is it a physiological or psychological problem; or is it perhaps a simple, every-day social question?

The mystery of the Jew's indestructibility has troubled the Gentile mind for ages. The Christian missionary tried to solve this puzzle by the crucifix and baptismal font, and failed; Russian tyrants sought to accomplish the same end through cruel and inhuman methods, with no better results; the philosophic Teutons hoped Jew-baiting might be the best means, and they also have discovered their error; and even the most civilized and enlightened communities tacitly apply ostracism for the same purpose. And the Jew lets them rack their brains and continues his existence as unbroken and as hopeful as of yore.

Some regard it as miraculous—the Hebrews being the "chosen people"—and others look upon it as the fulfilment of some curse; but neither hypothesis will satisfy a person of sound reason. The former might gratify the fancy of a simple-minded Quaker; the latter of a medieval Christian. But there must be something more authentic and in accordance with the natural sequence of things—some theory that is based on facts, not fiction. The Jews no longer assert any superiority because of their being "chosen" (save for persecution and prejudice), and I doubt if they ever laid claim to this dignity, except in Biblical tradition. We must disregard divine blessings and demoniac curses, and scrutinize more closely the Jew's character—the inner nature of his being. For therein lies the secret of his survival, and this cannot be disclosed unless he is thoroughly understood. The Jew has ever been misrepresented and misinterpreted: in history, in fiction, on the stage, and in the daily pursuits of life; and even his very *belief* has been misunderstood. The world has regarded the Jew as an enigma and refused to see him in any other light. Furthermore, the

influence of his environment misled the Jew himself to over-estimate his powers.

The secret of the Jew's immortality is not hidden: it is patent on the surface. But the commonly assigned causes for his survival are: (1) persistence in his faith; (2) seclusiveness; (3) ancestral pride—regarding himself as God's "chosen"; (4) the Saviour's malediction. The first three causes are emphatically insisted upon by Mr. Arnold White in his latest book; yet the Hebrew race is utterly devoid of these characteristics, as we shall see. The Jews are neither persistent nor seclusive, nor do they take "pride" in their race. The last statement may be denied by some Jews, and I do not ask the reader to take my word for it, but will illustrate it in this article, which is not intended to be laudatory nor condemnatory, but simply a presentation of facts, be they in praise of the Jew or otherwise.

First, as to persistence. Peruse the Bible and Jewish history to the present date, and synthesize this particular feature—and you will be surprised to find the reverse is true. The Jew has been and is the least persistent in his creed. Compared with professors of other faiths, the Jew might be regarded as an all-around apostate. Moses, the wise lawgiver, knew his people well enough, and "he led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines," although that was near; for God said, "Lest peradventure the people repent and return to Egypt." At the very first step of the Exodus their faith was shaken. A short while after the children of Israel "sang unto the Lord because he hath triumphed gloriously," and redeemed them from bondage, the same people murmured, "Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh-pots." After taking another step the children of Israel again murmured, "Wherefore is this that thou hast brought us up out of Egypt?" They no longer had faith, and never ceased to murmur throughout the journey under Moses's leadership. Taking another step, "Israel joined himself unto Baalpeor." Joshua died, and his generation were gathered unto their fathers; "and there arose

another generation after them which knew not the Lord. And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim, and followed other gods, the gods of the people that were round about them." In fact, the Biblical history of the Jews is a chain of disobedience, infidelity to the faith of their fathers, and *lack* of persistence. Not a decade passed but they had forsaken their creed and worshiped other gods. The Maccabean epoch is especially noted for Jewish indifference toward their faith. The cultured classes were striving after Hellenism, and aspired toward the Grecian mythology. Had the Maccabees not arisen, the Jewish problem would probably then have been solved for all time. At the time of the illustrious philosopher Maimonides, the Jews had been so ignorant of their faith that they could not even pray in Hebrew, and Maimonides complained of their gross ignorance of Judaism and urged that a reader should pray and the congregation intone "Amen."

Now, let us examine the inner life of Israel during the passing century. When Moses Mendelssohn stood at the gate of a German ghetto a century ago, the Jews' condition in Germany had been most deplorable; the baptism of a Jew was a rarity, if not an impossibility. Penned up in barricaded, dingy inclosures, they were almost barred from engaging in any honest profession or trade; every branch of industry by which one could procure a livelihood was forbidden them; even the dead in their graves were frequently molested. Under the hood of hypocrisy and in the name of Christ, the so-called Christians had robbed, plundered, and killed the unfortunate adherents of Judaism. But they could not crush them; they rather strengthened them. At every new restriction and abuse the Jews of the ghetto added a new ceremony, a new law, and revived an ancient ritual or custom. With Mendelssohn a new epoch had begun for the Jews. The light of his brilliant mind filled the uncouth Jewry of his time with new life and splendor, and had cast its reflection even among Gentiles. The existence of this witty philosopher was felt in Berlin. His precepts and philosophy were discussed in intellectual cir-

cles; his sayings were repeated in aristocratic salons; his humor and wit were talked of among the literati; and Moses Mendelssohn had become a favorite name in every house of culture. He was a Jew, and was not ashamed to proclaim it.

So the Jew became a subject of interest. It was Mendelssohn the Jew who had drawn the attention of the German people. Germany had become ashamed of itself—but prejudice cannot be easily shaken off; it is rooted too deep in the baser element of man. However, persecution was ameliorated and more freedom was granted to the Jews. In rapid succession the Jews crept forth from the ghettos. They had changed their dress and mode of living, and adopted those of their German neighbors. Mendelssohn opened the gate to culture, and his co-religionists streamed in profusely. In a short period the number of distinguished Jews was too large to enumerate. They dropped their ancient customs, abandoned the Yiddish dialect, and became German in every essential respect. The Jew Heine sang for the Gentiles the sweetest songs of life and love, and Meyerbeer and Felix Mendelssohn filled the air with heavenly melodies. Equal rights had been granted to the Jews. Resistance was no longer of avail, and the Jewish cohesive strength was gone; for therein lay their power. The Jews forsook the tents of Shem and moved to the house of Japhet. Thousands went willingly, nay eagerly, to the baptismal font. Mendelssohn's own flesh and blood became Christian. Intermarriage had become a daily occurrence. Judaism was no longer a religion, but a compromise. The rabbis modified and framed their creed according to the Christian pattern—that it might be easier to cross the barrier that divided Jew and Christian.

There was no hope for the Jew's survival. It was only a question of time, and the twentieth century would undoubtedly have found the Jews absorbed by the Gentiles. The Jews were only a handful as compared with the people among whom they dwelt. But the Germans have had little patience. Seeing the Jews climb too fast to the top, anti-Semitism arose to check their progress. Now resistance was again in demand, and the

Jews' strength revived. The Jew was now opposed, and he met this with resistance. Again he espoused his old faith and obstinately clung to his own. This is the story of the Jew in Germany and the secret of his survival there.

The Jew is a being of resistance, not persistence. In order to win the sympathy of a stubborn person we must dispense with force. Force will bend the weak and yielding, but the strong and obstinate must be won through kindness. What is true of the individual is also true of the race. The greater the force used against the Jew, the more invincible becomes his resisting power. Every race, every nation, has its peculiar characteristics, and resistance is the one by which the Jew is distinguished. Every time a "blood accusation" is aroused against the Hebrew by Gentile fanatics, it assures another century of life for the Jew; every time a Jew is persecuted for his race and faith, another decade is certain to be added to Israel's history; every time a Jew, for racial reasons, is ostracized at a summer resort or denied admission to a club, it invigorates and unites the Scattered People more closely. This is the Jew's power; this is the mystery of his survival. The Jew has always known it, and he never grumbles at persecution. Persecution has been and is his stronghold. Without persecution and prejudice the Jew would have been a relic of the past. Prejudice is the salt, so to speak, that preserves the Jew. Burn him, slaughter him, knout him, ridicule him—and he becomes stronger and clings more devoutly to his faith; treat him leniently, compliment him, show him friendship—and he will do more than you ask of him.

Very similar is the history of the Jews in Russia. During the reign of Alexander II., when persecution was merely mitigated, the young generation turned their back on Judaism. Thousands drifted away and were amalgamated with the Gentiles; thousands adopted the Old Greek Church faith. Then, also, the Jew was easily rocked in the cradle of hope and had golden dreams of "assimilation." But the burning roofs over their heads and the hurling stones in their windows in 1881 rudely awakened them. Jewish children wept and asked

their mothers, with innocent tears in their eyes, "Are we also Jews?" "Back! Back!" resounded throughout Russian Jewry. "They force us to it, and we won't! We would do it of our own free will, but no compulsion!" This is the interpretation of the reaction after the "riots." Again resistance was in demand, and the Jew was rejuvenated. He girded his loins and paid measure for measure. Again he tightened his relaxed creed, readopted some of the abolished Oriental customs, and laughed the whole world to scorn.

Jews in the United States enjoy equally the rights and privileges of American citizenship with their Gentile brethren. Still, there exists even here the old prejudice, and they have gained very little ground after all in their attempt to remove the barrier that separates them from the world. There are three Jewish denominations in this country. Although the difference is practically trivial, they are divided into Orthodox, Conservative, and Radical branches. Accurately speaking, these are the three stages of Jewish indifference. It is a shifting trinity, and every Jewish immigrant begins with the first and ends with the last. Orthodoxy is the faith of Judaism unpurified; Conservatism is purified Judaism without faith; Radicalism is neither faith nor Judaism. The last is the latest fad of compromising Judaism. Under no interpretation can it be classified as a creed. It is the ultimate degree of indifference that verges on agnosticism. Judaism in this country is a compromise, which according to one of the most erudite rabbis has proved a failure. The modern "temple" in this country is a lecture-hall, pure and simple, with no logical right to be classified among the faiths; and the services are chiefly of a vaudeville character. Whether or not it is the right substitute for religion is another matter. But I use it merely as an illustration of the Jews' lack of persistence in clinging to their faith, and incidentally revealing the Jewish nature.

Ethical Culturism is a frank offer and compromise for assimilation, which the Gentiles are not willing to accept. The Radical rabbis cowardly shield themselves under the petticoat of Judaism. They fear to face the naked truth; for the Ameri-

can Reformed Jewish congregations are like ready-made clothes that fit the buyer. Primarily, they are neither Conservative nor Radical. The rabbis solve this riddle for them. The congregation dances in accord with the rabbis' tunes: should the latter cease playing, the former would quit dancing. Had the American Jews not met with opposition in joining Gentile clubs and society, Judaism would expire in this country in a short time. It is hovering between life and death anyhow, although the influx of Jews from countries of cruel oppression tends to revive it. The Dreyfus case was a stimulus for the Jew to take up his own again—which also proves that prejudice is the only cause of the Jew's immortality.

Secondly, as to seclusiveness. The Biblical passages already cited might clearly show that the Jew is by nature an assimilator. It is exclusiveness, rather than seclusiveness, that characterizes the Jew. To ask why the race remains a distinct, separate people within the bulk of humanity is like asking one who was successively kicked out of a house why he does not return.

Israel's record during the Biblical era is familiar. Whenever he waxed fat he rebelled and took unto him wives from the Gentile peoples. King Solomon and the whole line of the royal family, without exception, had been assimilators. I am not citing these facts panegyrically, but simply as an illustration of the point at issue. When Greece flourished the Jews wished to flourish with it—as Hellenes, not as Jews. The same was true in every country where the Jew was allowed to rest his weary feet. I have previously pointed out the Jewish eagerness for assimilation in Germany and Russia—when fortune smiled upon the race and they were allowed to breathe freely. Israel's mission is peace, and through peace only will the Jew be identified with the people among whom he sojourns.

Furthermore, the Jew's instinct of assimilation is so strong that his very nature and character are molded according to his surroundings. Consider, for instance, the cultured Jews of Russia. They adopted Western civilization and have nevertheless retained the traits of the Slav, in contradistinction

to the Teutons and Anglo-Saxons. They are of the Turgénieff type. Had educational institutions not been closed against them for one or two centuries longer, there is no doubt that the greater portion of the Russian Jews would have been absorbed by the Aryans. The reason for this is obvious. The Jew, though often original, is an expert imitator. To-day the Gentiles will set an example for him, and to-morrow he will surpass the original. This is his genius—adaptability. This trait also is perhaps the effect of incessant hardship and trial. Modern Judaism itself, for instance, is an imitation of Unitarianism; but, while the latter retains the spirit of Christianity as well as the devotion of prayer and faith, the former is shallow, without any vitality or religious spirit. It is imitation, and therefore affected.

Not only spiritually, but also intellectually, the Jew is an assimilator. The peculiar qualities generally attributed to the Jew become extinct after a decade of freedom. Shrewdness and economy are said to be particularly Jewish. Does the American or English Jew betray any signs of shrewdness? Is the Jew in this country parsimonious? Are Hebrews not the best patrons of the opera, the lecture-hall, and other places of entertainment? Are they not more charitable than the Yankees? Economy with the Jew is a thing of the past; in short, he is an adapter to an extreme degree.

Furthermore, the Jew is capable of assimilating physically as much as other races. The Jews are not only a religious sect but a race in contradistinction from the Aryans, notwithstanding the ridiculous assertions of some advanced Hebrews that they are Jews by faith only. It requires centuries for a race to lose its identity and undergo a physical change. However, making due allowance for the peculiar situation and severe persecution that compelled the Jews to retain their radical characteristics, we may say that they assimilate physically as well as otherwise. Any one familiar with the southern Russian type will realize the influence of the climate and environment upon the Jew. Not even the most skilful physiognomist could detect any difference between some Jews and Gentiles in that

part of Russia. The southern Russians, Jew and Gentile alike, have sandy hair, straight noses, gray or grayish-blue eyes, and thin lips, and even their untrimmed beards shape themselves strikingly similar. There is scarcely a trace of Semitism in their features, except the badge of sufferance which is still un-effaced. The same is true of the Bohemian and Hungarian. The German and Lithuanian Jews are perhaps physically the most persistent—the former in particular; their features are purely Semitic: jet-black hair, long aquiline nose, thick lower lip, and pensive look. But the cause of this is self-evident. The German Jews were shut up in ghettos more rigidly than any of their co-religionists—especially in the eighteenth century. The atmosphere of the ghetto was so peculiarly distinct that it left its impression almost indelibly. And Lithuanian Jews, though never inclosed in ghettos, have separated themselves from the outside world and lived an *imperium in imperio* through the barbaric ukases and inhuman treatment of their oppressors. The forced system of their education and Talmudic atmosphere forced the Lithuanian Jews back to Orientalism; for education acts powerfully even on the physical constitution of man.

The so-called Jewish clannishness is that of sheep on discovering the approach of a wolf. It is intimidation, because they feel—and they have good cause for so feeling—that they are never safe or secure in many so-called Christian countries. Civilized countries, professedly Christian, which at the close of the nineteenth century still find the ritual “blood accusation” against the Jews a debatable subject, are not fully civilized and trustworthy, and there is yet fear of danger for the antagonized race.

Only a superficial cynic could make so unfounded a charge as ancestral pride against the Jews. One meets every day with Irish boys and girls who acknowledge their origin with pride, and with Catholics professing their faith boldly; while one has to search with flaming torches to find American Jewish boys or girls who, if they only could, would not like “to pass for Gentiles,” and blush when reference to Judaism is made. The average American Jew, notwithstanding the repulsive

blows he often meets with, is ever seeking to expatriate himself from his race; and if possible he would perhaps go so far as to shape his nose after the American model. How many American Jewish ladies could be found who would wear the emblem of Judaism dangling over their breasts? To be the only Jew on a street is one of the heavenly privileges the propitious gods are not indulgent enough to grant to all of them. The Jew is least of all proud of his faith and race. Nay, he is often ashamed of it, and the little pride he sometimes seems to display is only the self-reproach that awakens out of self-respect. Degrade any human being for his origin or nationality, and you inevitably stir up pride in him. It is not pride in fact, but rebuke that assumes the dignity of pride.

Lastly, we come to the malediction of Christ, on which I lay most stress; not that I am irrational enough to believe in the potency of a "curse," but for the significant interpretation given to it by the Christian world for nearly two thousand years. Trivial as this may seem to the liberal and broad-minded Christian, those who take the Bible literally *ad absurdum* sincerely believe that the Jews are to be kept down in order to fulfil that malediction. They emulate the sharp-shooter who first shot at a target and then made a circle around the arrow. No matter how enlightened many good Christians are on other points, they cling to that literal and preposterous interpretation of "His blood be on us, and our children." But this is only a cause for prejudice, not for the Jews' existence. It is true that Jew-hatred is found even among non-believers, but this is the natural outgrowth of the former. Christianity in its general acceptation rooted deep prejudice toward the Jew in its professor, and though he often outgrows his religion he rarely outgrows that prejudice. Evil is often more tenacious than good.

The secret of the Jew's immortality is prejudice and violence, and prejudice and violence are the offspring of religious differences. Mark Twain's allusion to the hostility of the Gentiles toward the Jews before the Christian era merely reaffirms the fact that the majority hates the minority for repelling its

views, and that history repeats itself. When one out of a whole society fails to follow the accepted conventionalism, he is regarded as a "crank" and is disliked. The same is true of a small class of people within a large one. But while some may yield to the majority through compulsion or ostracism, the Jew is not moved by either of these social weapons; indeed, these means only strengthen his individuality. The greater the violence the greater is Israel's force of resistance; this and this only is the secret of the Jew's immortality.

EZRA S. BRUDNO.

Cleveland, O.

II. JEWISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE.

WHEN Goethe outlined his famous scheme of a universal literature, he did not hesitate to place Jewish literature in the very front rank. In an age when the Jews were just emerging from the ghettos to breathe the fresh air of political and religious liberty and to try their wits in intellectual competition with their Gentile brethren, it struck the great German savants with utter dismay to see the literature of a despised and persecuted race thus made to stand gigantic in the van of the world's literary treasures. And to think that a *German* should thus have apotheosized Jewish thought and learning!

Perhaps no other literature is so nearly world-embracing in its prevailing tone and bearing as that of the Jews, and we are ready to agree with Goethe in his daring literary estimate enunciated in their favor so many years ago. It was its undoubted cosmopolitan characteristic that made of Jewish literature a happy and perhaps providential vehicle for the sustentation and perpetuation of learning in Europe during the Middle Ages, when science was languishing among the Christian populations and when the Jews and Moors of Spain alone kept burning the lamp of scientific research.

The Jews of Spain acted as intermediaries between the

ardent, fantastic Orient and the cold, sordid Occident. They received from the Greeks, Persians, and Arabs the old Greek and Indian fables, such as the "Fox Fables," so dear to students of comparative mythology, and, translating them into Latin, not only preserved them but spread them all over Europe, subsequently to become popularized in the various countries that had arisen on the ruins of the Roman Empire: countries without national literatures because devoid of fully-developed literary languages. Spain was the only soil on which pure science could flourish; for there alone, in all Europe, might have been found, after the Moorish conquest, a national tongue equal to the task of embodying and perpetuating the science and philosophy of both Jew and Moor: Arabic.

The Talmud was the power that launched the Jew on his career of scientific study and discovery, for in it he found those germs of medicine, anatomy, botany, geography, astronomy, jurisprudence, and history that sooner or later were bound to grow up into actual sciences wherever the Jew might chance to settle in his wanderings. From time immemorial the holiest duty in Israel has been the study of the Law, which early came to mean to nearly all Jews the Talmud. For five hundred years the Jewish mind was exercised with Talmudic lore and rabbinic dialectics, ere it launched out independently into the fields of pure science and philosophy in sunny Spain under the caliphs. This rabbinic training prepared the Jew to handle weighty problems in science and philosophy, while the "haggadah," or parabolic portions of the Talmud, bristling with wit and humor, brightened the burden of his exile and gave to his poetry a touch of buoyancy and vivacity.

Jewish literature has always had a mission to fulfil in spreading religious and scientific truth throughout the world, and its beneficent course may be traced from the days of the old Talmudic academies that arose and flourished wherever the Jews of the *diaspora* were settled. It was an ancient and learned oriental rabbi, Samuel, who declared that he was as well acquainted with the stars and their courses as he was with the streets of Nahardea, in Babylonia, where his academy flour-

ished. This old saying of Rabbi Samuel was but a confession of the Jew's love of astronomy in every age, a science in which he has excelled ever since Samuel's day. Gamaliel, another Talmudic rabbi, both astronomer and mathematician, no doubt made use of a rude telescope, while Rabbi Joshua as early as 290 A.D. probably calculated the orbit of what is known to-day as "Halley's comet."

These early investigators were but the prophecy of that mighty scientific wave that was destined to sweep over Spain hundreds of years afterward under Jewish inspiration. All that was known, not only in Spain but in all Europe, of astronomic science in the Middle Ages was based upon Ptolemy's "Almagest," which a Jew early translated into Latin and made accessible to all lovers of learning, thus preparing the way for a truer astronomic science at the Renaissance. In Spain the field of scientific research was made brilliant by the labors of Abraham ibn Ezra, known to Latin scholars as Abraham Judæus, or Avenare, and Abraham ben Chiya, or Savasorda, the latter of whom discovered the stellar parallax and explained for the first time the sphericity of the earth. He also wrote for his contemporaries the first systematic scheme of stellar science. Jacob ben Machir, also known as Profatius Judæus, wrote on the inclination of the earth's axis, and thus laid the foundation for the investigations of Copernicus. Gerson ben Solomon composed a useful summary of all the scientific knowledge of his time, while Levi ben Gerson, astronomer, physician, and theologian, wrote a book on arithmetic and invented at least one astronomic instrument. John, of Seville, issued the first practical text-book on arithmetic and was the first to make mention of the system of decimal fractions, of which he may also have been the inventor. The court of Alphonso X. was made illustrious by the labors of many Jews learned in astronomy and mathematics, their discoveries paving the way for Kepler and Tycho Brahe, Isaac Israeli's "Foundation of the Universe" having been one of the best mathematical works of the Spanish-Jewish school.

The "Zohar," that wonderful cabalistic production of the

Middle Ages, of all Jewish books the most mystical, sustained the claim of Jewish literature as being cosmopolitan in that it teaches, in the clearest possible way, the sphericity of the earth and its revolution on its axis as the satisfactory explanation of the succession of day and night. The love of astronomy and mathematics so early displayed by the Jews of Spain never faded, the period of the Renaissance furnishing many Jewish names of lasting scientific worth. It was the Jew Abraham Zacuto, professor of astronomy at the university of Salamanca and resident at the Court of the King of Portugal, who, on the basis of his learning, was the king's final court of advice when De Gama appealed to him to equip an expedition for a voyage to the Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Zacuto was without doubt the only man at Court whose learning could convince Manuel the Great of the advisability of fitting out the ships. It was, moreover, the Jew Gaspar, the learned pilot of De Gama's vessel, to whom the world is indebted for the scientific account of De Gama's remarkable undertaking. This same period of Renaissance also produced the famous Joseph Vencinho, the originator of the globe still in use for the study of the earth, while Pedio di Carvalho vied with his Gentile contemporaries as a successful and scientific navigator of unknown seas.

Jewish scientific literature maintains its cosmopolitan spirit quite as much in the field of medical science as in that of astronomy and mathematics. As the latter sciences were only of value in Jewish eyes so far as they served to advance the happiness and civilization of all mankind, so likewise, even when Gentile laws forbade the Jew to practise it among non-Jews, the humanitarian sons of Abraham studied medical science as much for the good of their persecutors as for their own. Upon the unscientific medical and astronomic attempts of the Talmudists the Jews of post-Talmudic days reared a wonderfully correct system of medicine and became the authorities in medical and related sciences for a thousand years. They not only showed their zeal and unselfishness by personal investigation under the most trying political and religious condi-

tions, but were eager translators of the medical works of others. It was a Jew of Bassora who first translated the "Pandects of Aaron" into Arabic from the Syriac, while in the ninth century Isaac Israeli, of Kairwan, Africa, wrote a medical work that became the authority in Europe for upward of five hundred years, through its Latin translation by the monk Constantine. The deep thinker and physician Maimonides, three centuries later, was the greatest medical practitioner of the Middle Ages. Sabbatai Donnolo, of Salerno, composed a "Materia Medica" that met a long-desired want among medieval practitioners, and Chasdai ben Shaprut translated into Arabic the "Plant Lore" of Dioscorides, botanic study having been quite generally identified with that of medicine. The best Jewish physicians of early Europe were also the best botanists—in fact the only ones.

In the realm of pure philosophy, as distinguished from that of practical science, the Jews have always been preëminent. Jacob ben Abba-Mari Anatoli, who resided at the Court of Frederick II., was the original translator of the works of Aristotle; and Solomon ibn Gabirol explained the essentials of the neo-Platonic philosophy in his work entitled "The Source of Life." This great book was afterward translated from the Arabic into Latin, the Jewish author's name having been altered to Avencebrol, and later to Avicebron, by those "Christian" scholars of scholastic days who feared or disliked the work's Jewish authorship. "The Source of Life" was regarded for hundreds of years as the undoubted production of some Christian scholar and philosopher, until it was proved beyond all doubt, in our own day, to have been written by the Jew Gabirol. The book became a storm-center of contending scholastic parties, having been defended by Duns Scotus, but bitterly attacked by Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus.

The ninth century saw the rise of that star of the first magnitude, Sa'adia of Faoum, the first translator of the Old Testament into Arabic. He and Judah ibn Tibbon did as much good for learning by their translations as they did by their thinking, the latter's vast "Compendium of Science" and

his cyclopedia of the Arabic and Hebrew languages, literature, poetry, botany, zoology, and religious philosophy constituting two of the most important Jewish contributions to the world's scientific literature. Rashi, the French Jew and Biblical commentator of the eleventh century; David Kinchi, the grammarian; Kalonymos ben Kalonymos, under Robert of Naples; and Chasdai Crecas, the author of "Free Will" and the "Divine Nature" in the fourteenth century—not to speak of Abraham ibn Ezra, the rationalistic theologian—were a shining galaxy for this time. Crecas is considered to have been the precursor of Spinoza.

In geographical science the Jews of the Middle Ages were the unchallenged leaders, and have left to their posterity an abundant literature. There were more Jewish than Gentile travelers in those days, and such men as Eldad ha-Dani, Petachia of Ratisbon, and Benjamin di Tudela opened up vast fields of hitherto unknown or forgotten lands. The Jewish contribution to geographical literature was greatly enhanced by reason of the many and widely-scattered Jewish communities by which the Jews sustained an active international commerce. In the Middle Ages, even down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, the sons of Abraham were the pioneers and chief supporters of interstate trade. They built up the commerce of Pisa, Florence, Genoa, and Venice by their peculiar business acumen, but principally by the invention and use of bank checks and bills of exchange, which made foreign trade easier to conduct. The first banks in Italy were founded and managed by Jews. The vast Jewish commercial interests kept up a constant and intimate connection between Europe and the Levant, and, like the crusades, brought the knowledge of the East home to the West. Even the crusades were dependent upon Jewish bankers. Back of every crusading host was a Jewish pocket-book.

This commercial activity of the Jews in its Eastern extension, together with their uninterrupted literary and scientific labors, were the chief factors in the revival of European letters. To one versed in the history of the Jews in post-Biblical times it

is hardly possible to ascribe the Renaissance to any other prevailing cause than that of Jewish intellectual supremacy coupled with an ever-increasing Jewish international commerce. The Renaissance began in Italy, where Italian Jews, in constant contact with the old Byzantine lands and civilization, became the "go-betweens" with respect to the corresponding diverse civilizations. The prominent Christian leaders of the Renaissance all caught the spirit of the great "rebirth" of learning from Jews whose names have come down to us.

Jewish humanists preceded the Gentile and taught the latter their first lessons. Jacob Mantino, physician at the Court of Pope Paul III.; Bonet di Lattes, the astronomer; Judah Abrabanel, the philologist; Elias Levita, the Hebraist—these constituted that little group of Hebrew humanists whose influence was overpowering in high places, while Reuchlin himself learned Hebrew from the Jew Obadiah Sforne.

The first books ever printed in Europe were in Hebrew. The Jews, after laboring for two thousand years with pen and parchment, on the invention of the printing-press were the most ardent in adopting a means that would not only lessen their literary toil, but furnish them with a medium by which to do more for science and civilization than ever before. The Hebrew books printed in the early days of the printing-press were out of all proportion to those printed in other languages; while the Jews also issued Latin translations of their own and other's works, thus flooding Europe with the best scientific thought. The printing-press was at first feared by the Christian Church. Christians learned to appreciate its value only very slowly, but the Jews at once accepted it and employed it. The first printed Hebrew book was Rashi's Bible and Commentary.

The Jewish ascendancy in the revival of learning may not be safely challenged by the Christian world. The Reformation in Germany and England owed much to Jewish books, Luther's Bible and Commentary, in its Old Testament portion, being nothing short of Rashi's, issued centuries before; while the great centers of learning in Italy, Spain, and France were fairly alive with Jewish savants.

The Renaissance was to the Jews that intellectual awakening toward which all Jewish philosophy and learning had been trending for upward of eight hundred years. It was the climax of ages of Jewish intellectual endeavor and persistency, and, while it came as a surprise to the Christian body, it was to the Jews but a *new birth*, resulting from causes long operative and well understood by themselves. To the Christian world the Renaissance appeared as the result of a sudden inspiration from the East—from Byzantium and the Levant—but to the Jews as a happy and exalted stage in Europe's scientific, philosophic, and esthetic evolution under their own fostering care as the paladins of progress.

But no sooner had Jewish and Byzantine thought met and produced the revival of European learning than the Jews themselves sank out of sight in the darkness of the ghettos. For three hundred years, covering the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the Jews of Europe lived a segregated existence—excluded from Christian society, from the professions, and from the trades. They ceased to be the paladins of science. Christian Europe had learned all it could from the Jews and might then afford to ostracize them. But, though lost to sight in the ghettos, the Jews still kept up their intellectual activity. Italy, during the ghetto period, enjoyed the labors of Abraham de Portaleone, the first scientific archeologist; while in Poland Jewish scholars and thinkers arose to keep aglow the torch of knowledge. Issereles translated "Theorica," while other Polish Jews, like Luria, Cohen, and Elias of Wilna, labored nobly against that intellectual stagnation occasioned by the hopeless ghetto life. Spinoza, Uriel Acosta, David Neto, and other Jewish thinkers and philosophers kept up the intellectual life of the Holland Jews.

Nearly all of the ghetto (or early post-Renaissance) Jewish works of every description, scientific and literary, were written in what is known as "Yiddish." From the twelfth century Yiddish became the every-day language of the continental Jews, especially of Poland and the Slavic lands; and scientists will be interested to learn that it is still in full vigor in America as

the house language of thousands of American Hebrews—immigrants from Russia and Galicia. It is a mixture of Hebrew, German, Russian, and Polish, and is a living witness to the wanderings of the Jews in many lands. Yiddish dates its origin from the period of the Crusades, when the German Jews were forced eastward by the hordes of Christian fanatics into Slavic countries. It is a language forced upon the Hebrews by stress of political, social, and geographical conditions, and the Yiddish literature that grew up has enjoyed upward of four hundred years of patronage. David Gans and Bassista, the former the first scientific Jewish historian, the latter a learned bibliographer, both wrote in Yiddish.

Like the Jews of the Middle Ages, the modern Jews have been among the foremost in scientific attainments, Zunz, early in this century, having been the leader in modern Jewish scientific research. Sir William Herschell, W. Meyerbeer, Reiss the physicist, Jacobi, Sylvester, Cremona, Loewy and Cantor, mathematicians—all were Jews, while in physiology Remak, Bernstein, Rosenthal, and Valentin long since spoke and wrote with authority.

The field of medicine is radiant with the names of Traube, Lombroso, Liebreich the ophthalmologist and inventor of the eye-mirror; Hirsch, once the unquestioned authority on medical botany; Zeissl, the last court of appeal for many years on syphilis; and M. L. O. Liebreich, the discoverer of chloralhydrate. David Ricardo, Cremieux, Karl Marx, Lasalle, and Edward Lasker loom up resplendent in the field of economics, vying with their Gentile brethren working in similar lines. Joseph Wolff, Vambéry, Sir F. H. Goldschmid, and the half-Jew W. G. Palgrave, as scientific travelers, have opened up wide stretches of hitherto unexplored areas in Arabia, Asia, and Persia.

But of all fields of learning traversed by the Jews, and one in which they have always claimed supremacy and authority, that of philology has been the most thoroughly explored. Abel and Geiger stand foremost in comparative lexicography. Freund published a Latin lexicon that has become the basis of

all similar lexicons used in England. In philology the Jews appear to pose as specialists. A. L. Davids still holds the pre-eminence of authority in Turkish, Vambéry and Bloch in Hungarian, Benfrey in Sanscrit, Abel in Coptic, Ebers in Egyptian, Oppert in Assyrian, Levy in Phenician, and Leitner in Hindustani. Weil is a recognized authority on ancient epigraphy. In modern languages the Jew Darmesteter sustains his philologic supremacy in French, Landau in Italian, and Sanders in German and Greek; while Ollendorf is a linguist and author of text-books used by thousands of Jewish and Gentile students to-day.

Historic research has not wanted Jewish learning and enthusiasm. This attractive field of study is redolent with some of the greatest names in literature. Neander, the Church historian; Sir F. Cohen Palgrave, author of the first really scientific history of England; Geiger, the historian of the Renaissance; Klein, who wrote the best work on the history of the drama; Jaffé, the authority for many years on the Papacy—all were Jews by blood, and nearly all by religion. Graetz, Jost, Herzberg, the Greek historian; Romanin, historian of Venice, and Frankel, historian of Hungary, shed luster upon the Jewish name; while Philipson and Breslau in Germany were scientific historians of the highest rank.

To-day we possess about twenty thousand Jewish works telling of Jewish scientific and other labors in the past, nearly all of these having been brought to light during the last fifty years as a happy result of the modern Jewish renascence under Mendelssohn, toward the end of the eighteenth century. Nordau, the criminologist of our own day, is a Jew. The Jews themselves have only recently learned what a mighty force they have been in the progress of science and civilization.

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III. THE FUTURE OF THE JEWS.

THE Jew belongs to no particular age or country. He has lost his ancient provincialism and become a citizen, not of

Judea, but of the world. Happy wherever he may be treated as a human being and entering into the common life and activities of the Gentile population around him, the son of Abraham is, in every age, a genuine cosmopolite. The Jew believes he has been given a cosmopolitan mission to fulfil. He explains his perpetuation through all the political and social revolutions of his history from the standpoint of this commission. He maintains that he is still in the world in order to keep alive the belief in "one only God" among the nations of the earth as a consecrated and "peculiar" people, but, while regarding his own race as the "chosen" of the Lord, the Jew seldom seeks to proselytize among Gentiles. He has always looked upon his people rather as heralds and torch-bearers than as seekers after converts to Judaism, holding aloft as they have the light of pure monotheism as opposed to polytheism and Christian trinitarianism. Such has been the Jew's religious position from time immemorial.

Just as the Hebrew has had an eventful and consistent past, so is he destined to enjoy a yet more remarkable future; but precisely what his ultimate destiny is going to be not even the Jew himself can foresee or prophesy. The Jew, while progressive in his ideas and tendencies, is not inclined to cast horoscopes, being, as he is, of an exceedingly practical turn of mind. He lives partly in the present and partly in the venerable past: in the atmosphere of the nineteenth century, redolent with its spirit of intellectual and social advancement, and at the same time among the sacred memories of Biblical and rabbinic days. The recollection of patriarchs and prophets, of kings and palaces, of temple and priest, does not unfit the Israelite for the duties of American citizenship. Indeed, his past reacts upon the Jew as a kind of moral and intellectual stimulus, spurring him onward as one of the "chosen" people. Even the sad ghetto period, comprising the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, during which Europe would have crushed out all self-respect and hope from the hearts of the sons of the covenant by segregating them from contact with Christian society, was unable to quench the old-time spirit

of progress that had characterized the persecuted race for upward of fifteen hundred years; for, although the Jews issued from the ghetto at the beginning of the nineteenth century half brutalized, suspicious, and sordid, yet it was in the same sorry period of Jewish history that some of the best Jewish works were produced in the midst of ghetto squalor and filth.

Thus it is quite evident that the Jew has within himself a power of recuperation of which few races can boast, and which rises as a perpetual protest against the wild theory of the coming final absorption of the Hebrews by the Gentile peoples of the earth. Even among the Jews themselves to-day there is an advanced school (if we may thus denominate them) holding this hypothesis as a distant possibility. They anticipate loss of Jewish racial identity through intermarriage with non-Semitic blood. But any theory, of whatsoever kind it may be, demands ready facts to sustain it ere it can become erected into an accepted truth; and, since it has been unswerving loyalty to both race and religion that has perpetuated the Jew and preserved intact his racial identity, it is not at all within the range of probability that he will ever undo the work of three millenniums by amalgamating with the Gentile world. He may, and undoubtedly will, continue to lose many of his ghetto features that so readily offend both reformed Jew and Christian; but love of race and religion must still survive and thus tend, as heretofore, to preserve and intensify racial distinction. The Jews of the Far East; in China and Malabar, breathing for fifteen hundred years an Oriental and pagan atmosphere, have so far kept intact both faith and blood, notwithstanding all the temptations to intermarry with Oriental stock; and it is not reasonable to think that such a racial jealousy will so easily be surrendered by the Jews of the future.

The Jew to-day is more zealous for his own people than ever before, and this interest is seen not only in the old-fashioned ghetto Jew, with his phylacteries and prayer-cloth, mumbling over his prayers, but equally ardent in the "reformed" Hebrew, engaged as he still is in the great reform movement

inaugurated in the latter half of the eighteenth century by Moses Mendelssohn, grandfather of the famous musical composer of the same family name, whereby the ghetto Jew, fresh from the ghettos of Poland, Galicia, and Odessa, becomes elevated morally, socially, and physically, while still clinging to the general practises and beliefs of orthodoxy. Testimony from every quarter presents, not a people about to cast off Judaism and lose itself in the Gentile population, but rather one undergoing a surprisingly active revival of racial pride. The Jew holds his head higher to-day than ever in the past, and, if he at times apologize for his existence, this is really but an unnecessary attempt to differentiate between his own enlightened self and the refugee from the Russian pale—than whom, it is said by the Jews themselves, there can be no lower type of American citizenship.

The future of the Jews, from present indications, is destined to be fraught with greater self-assertion and more fervent because more intelligent devotion to race and religion than the past has ever witnessed. Jewish education and literary life, dormant for many centuries except in the narrow field of rabbinic lore, is now undergoing a resurrection to a new life and vigor. Emma Lazarus, that sweet singer, in whose verse one can almost hear the uttered wail of sorrowing Israel, Grace Aguilar, Zangwill, and Cahen form a brilliant galaxy of popular Jewish writers during the middle and latter half of the present century; while the fields of medicine, law, and science are replete with Jewish names. Indeed, it is one of the persistent charges of the modern anti-Semites in Germany that the chairs in the German universities are fast becoming usurped by the hated Jews—a usurpation that savors more of ability and learning, however, than anything else.

In America the bright intellectual future of the Hebrews is prophesied in the recent establishment of a Jewish publication society, the main purpose of which is the education of the Jews, not in the lore of the Gentiles but in their own racial and religious history, of which a vast number of Israelites throughout the world are lamentably ignorant. Thus it is that every step

taken by the Jew to-day is in the direction of an intensified Judaism!

The "reformed" wing of the modern Jews, while devoid of much that is characteristic of the great body of the race, is nevertheless thoroughly orthodox in its love of Judaism and the Jew, and bespeaks a brilliant future for all Israelites coming under its sway. The questionable tendency of this body to imitate the Gentiles, and to apologize too often for the Jew's presence in the modern world, is by no means a sign of approaching dissolution. On the contrary, the reformed Jew is the real power behind the present Jewish educational movement. He sees in education, in its broadest sense, the practical means not only of uplifting the ghetto Jew morally and socially, but of rendering him more intellectually faithful in the future to the religion of his forefathers and prouder of his blood. But as a subject for Gentile study the reformed Jew of the future will not be of that surpassing interest to the Gentile that now characterizes the Hebrew in his orthodox state, since it is the many survivals of Bible and ghetto usages that make the orthodox the only kind of a Jew worth a Gentile's studious attention.

The Zionist craze, so lately enjoying the support of the orthodox, while purporting to be the beginning of the final fulfilment of prophecy, is in reality but another phase of the modern Jewish social reformation and helps us to form additional ideas as to the Jew's future. Its practical meaning is the awakening of orthodoxy to a newer life than that afforded by the ghetto. As far as its connection with a return of the Jews to the Holy Land is concerned, Zionism is all pure sentiment, but nevertheless it is prophetic of better things to come. To the more than a million of Hebrews now dwelling on our shores, the United States of America constitute their "promised land." Indeed, Judaism in its purest form does not involve a future repatriation of the Jewish people, nor does it contemplate the revival of the Jewish State—the adoption of a Jewish flag by the Zionist convention at Basle, in August, 1898, having been greeted with a perfect storm of derision among the Jewish-

Americans, who know no other flag save the "stars and stripes." The Zionist flag—a white field with two blue stripes and a star in the center—although the mark of Jewish fanaticism to the average intelligent American Jew, is nevertheless the ensign of an extensive reformation among the nine millions of Hebrews in the world, very few of whom wish to go back to Palestine. It means that the Jew is waking up to that self-respect which he lost during the ghetto age, the Zionist congress and its flag acquainting the world with the fact that the Jew still exists and must be recognized as a powerful, even if small, element in modern society. This is about all that the Zionist movement amounts to, although masquerading under a kind of messianic dress. No intelligent Zionist believes in the possibility of a future return of the "chosen race" to Canaan; and if this feeling continues to be the prevalent one, it is perhaps unreasonable to expect that prophecy will ever be fulfilled in this regard. It is unreasonable also to suppose that Divinity will ever force a restoration to the land of the patriarchs upon an unwilling people. Fulfilment of prophecy is understood by the best theologians to involve the coöperation of those whom it would affect for good; and, moreover, it is a fact too well known that the modern Jews regard prophecy as having been already fulfilled in the return of the Israelites from Babylon in the year 536 B.C., when they rebuilt the walls of the city of David and inaugurated once more the daily sacrifices. It is mainly the "kassidim"—the fanatical pietists—who still shout "next year in Jerusalem!" with honest fervor at the close of the Passover service. It is the fanatic who, together with the financial schemer, is always ready to institute funds for the purchase of the Holy Land from the Sultan of Turkey!

Looked at from a psychologic point of view, Zionism is only a dignified substitute for the false Messiahs of old who, ever and anon, have shaken post-Christian Judaism to its very core. The enthusiastic leader of the Zionists, Dr. Hertzl, is really a "false Messiah," historically considered; yet in him we behold, at the same time, a striking result of the intellectual, social, and religious evolution of the Jew from the dark ghetto

days of Zabbatai Zevi, in the sixteenth century, when all Europe and Asia were aflame with the messianic insanity. In the Zionist Hertzl's scheme of Jewish colonization in Palestine—a very practical move were it not met by the edict of the Sultan forbidding the further entrance of Israelites into his dominion—we are afforded an insight into the future of the Jews; for it assures us of the final substitution of practical methods in lieu of the old-time messianic upheavals. Zionism, representing the best Jewish minds of our day, while yearning after Zion, by its utilitarian method of attempting to purchase the Holy Land from Turkey protests against those few remaining fanatics who would sap the life of the Jewish body in their mad endeavors to lead the Hebrews in triumph back to the land made sacred by the feet of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob! All future tendencies Zionward will become more and more leavened with modern, practical ideas, like that now famous undertaking under Hertzl's direction; and the fruit will be the uplifting and broadening of the Jews, not by fervid appeals to unfulfilled prophecy but by the electric power generated by contact of Jew with Jew in ecumenical Zionist conventions.

The future of the Jewish race is destined to be characterized by a vast increase in their number. Even to-day they outnumber the Jews of the "days of the kings" twofold. In the palmiest days of Jewish history the descendants of father Abraham never exceeded four millions at the utmost, while to-day they exceed nine millions, notwithstanding two thousand years of persecution and exile. If the Jews have thus increased under the most unfavorable circumstances, what may we not look for even a century from now? Since the year 1861, when the American Jews amounted to only one hundred thousand, the Jewish population of the United States has increased so rapidly as to astonish statisticians, the present figures being 1,043,000—an increase in forty years of more than 900,000. Of this enormous aggregate only half a million at the most can be accounted for on the basis of immigration; so that the original hundred thousand in 1861 must have been augmented, by natural accession, to the extent of four hundred per cent.

It would appear that the Jewish population is destined to be augmented, for many years to come, much faster than any other of the varied elements that go to make up American society except the negro; and if we were to venture a cause for such growth we might suggest the observance of the Jewish *health laws* as being the most influential. Yet, with all this natural increase in America, and in the face of the nine millions of Hebrews altogether in the world, the whole Jewish race represents but six-tenths per cent. of the world's population! If the Jews in ages past, when not exceeding three or four tenths per cent. of mankind, could have played the important part they have in the progress of the human race—religiously, morally, and intellectually—beginning with Abraham and Moses, what may they not accomplish in the dim future, when, on the basis of present statistics, they will number at least as many millions as do the most enlightened Gentile people to-day? In other words, if, while being but a diminutive minority, the Jews have exercised a vast influence upon the human family, their future, perhaps, is destined to be of yet greater moment to the world at large than their wonderful past. The Jew heretofore has been a practical illustration of the power of the minority in questions affecting the welfare of men, but in the not distant future he will very likely have a correspondingly far-reaching voice, not as the minority, but as an ever-increasing majority in more lands than one.

(Rev.) A. KINGSLEY GLOVER.

Wells, Minn.